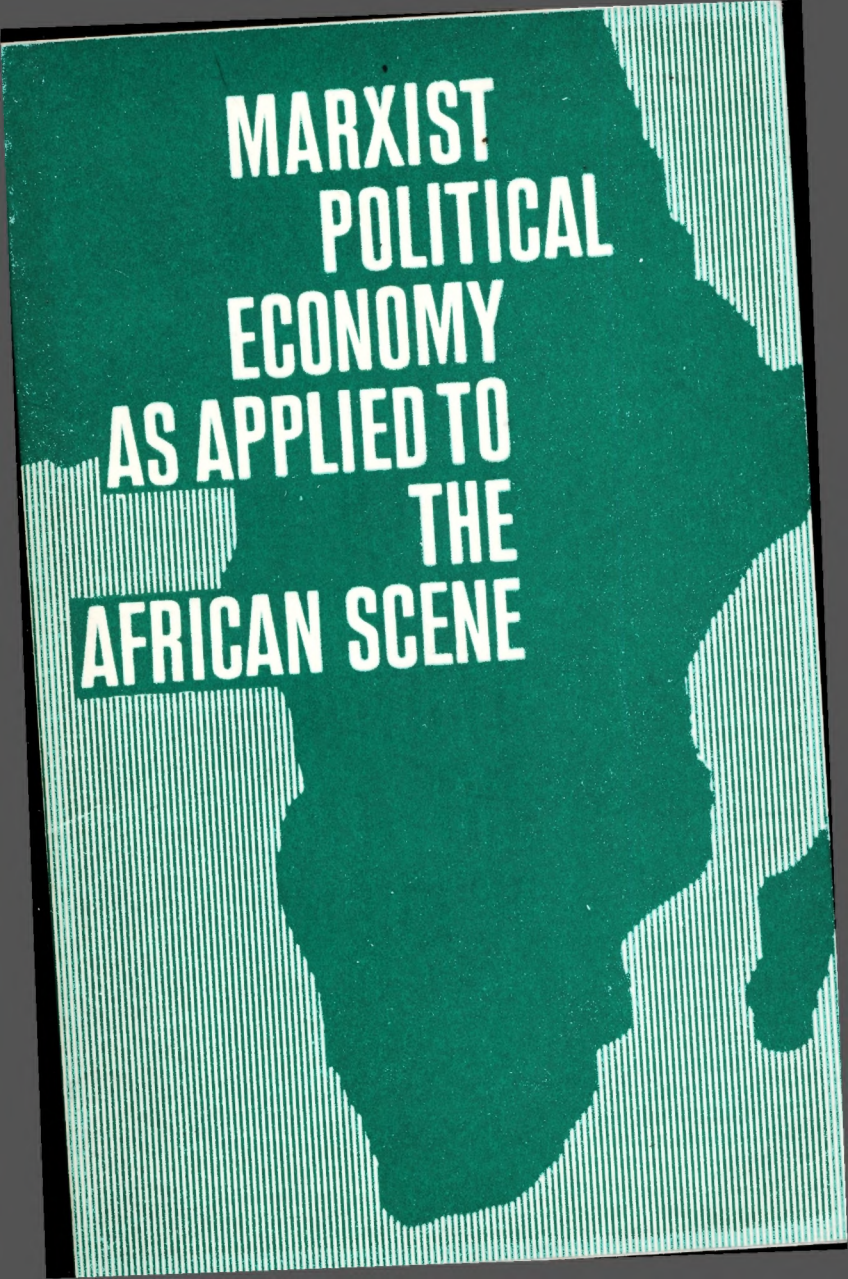
MARXIST POLITICAL ECONOMY AS APPLIED TO THE AFRICAN SCENE



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Novosti Press Agency Publishing House
Moscow, 1973

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Chapter I

THE ORIGIN AND SUBJECT-MATTER OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

On Sciences Natural, Technical and Social

In modern times man cannot do without scientific knowledge. Without it one cannot drive a lathe, build a block of flats, grow a rich crop. It is impossible to enumerate all of the hundreds of sciences, but one can divide them into several large groups according to what they deal with. For instance, the subject-matter of the *natural sciences* (physics, chemistry, geology and biology) is natural phenomena. The natural sciences provide the theoretical basis for industrial and agricultural engineering and medicine.

The *technical sciences* (mining, metallurgy, mechanics, construction, etc.) deal with the practical application of the laws of nature, with using its forces and materials in production, agriculture, the health services, communication, etc. It is hardly necessary to show that it is impossible to grow a really heavy crop, without a knowledge of agronomy since agronomy deals with the laws of growth of cultivated plants, the influence of soil moisture, heat, fertilizers, etc.

And then there are the *social sciences*, which would include political economy, philosophy, history, law, etc.

There have, in the past, been many gifted economists who made contributions to economics, particularly the English economists William Petty (1623-1687), Adam Smith (1723-1790) and David Ricardo (1772-1823).

But the first truly scientific and comprehensive study of the origin and development of society, of its economic and political forms was made by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) who were born in Germany. They revolutionised the social sciences and created a truly scientific theory of social development.

The theory of surplus value is the cornerstone of Marxist economic theory. Surplus value originates because the worker creates more value than he receives as wages, in payment for the use of his labour power. The remaining part of the labour-time is expended by the worker for the capitalist gratis, for creating surplus value. The surplus value is pocketed by the capitalist because he is the owner of the means of production. "The production of surplus value", Marx wrote, "is the absolute law of this mode of production."

Subsequently, under new historical conditions, the scientific theory of *Marxism* was enriched by the works of V. I. Lenin (1870-1924) and his followers.

Marxism-Leninism has established that economic relations play a special role in social life. These *economic relations are the subject-matter of Marxist political economy.*

Since political economy deals with the laws of the economic development of society, one would expect this science to answer such ques-

tions as: Why is Africa lagging behind in economic development? What form of economic development would solve the vital problems of the African peoples in the shortest historical period? How have other economically backward peoples managed, within the life-span of a generation, to do away with backwardness and build a prosperous society?

To answer these questions, one must understand, if only in general terms, the basic concepts of political economy.

Basic Economic Concepts and Categories

Even people who have never studied economics, know many economic terms like, for instance, labour, money, commodity, market, etc. And in the newspapers one comes across words like production, capital, wages, colonialism, capitalism and socialism. So in a way, everyone has a smattering of economics. But a handful of bricks do not make a house, and a familiarity with individual economic concepts is not a knowledge of economics.

The African continent covers nearly 30 million square kilometres. Since ancient times the vast lands of Africa have been populated by different tribes and nationalities who speak hundreds of languages and thousands of dialects. No matter what part of Africa one visits — oases in the Sahara or tropical jungles in Guinea, the Congo or Tanzania, large cities or remote hamlets—one notices that the majority of the able-bodied population are engaged in

labour. This is understandable since *labour is the main condition of man's existence.*

Objects of everyday use—food, clothes, dwelling-houses, etc., do not usually exist ready-made in nature. Generous though nature is in certain regions of Africa, it does not provide all man's needs. If everybody suddenly stopped working, food and clothing stocks would soon be exhausted, shops would empty, and man's very existence would be threatened. The necessity of labour to gain the means of subsistence is recognised by all nations. A Cameroon proverb says: "Man cannot live without labour," and in Swahili you can find the same idea in this wise advice: "Treat your guest as a guest for two days, and on the third day give him a plough."

Human labour is expended on diverse objects. The fisherman catches fish from a river or a sea, the peasant tills the land to grow ground-nuts, rice or cotton, the miner goes down the pit for iron ore. The object upon which human labour is used (the fish, the land, ground-nuts, rice, cotton plants and iron ore) is the *object of labour.*

But as he cannot catch fish, till the land or mine ore with bare hands, man uses the *means of labour,* i.e., the tools with which he mines, tills, produces material wealth.

The means of labour include primarily the *instruments of labour* (the fisherman's net, the peasant's hoe, the miner's pick) which enable man to acquire or modify the objects of labour. But besides the instruments of labour, the means of labour also include all the other factors necessary to the process of labour, like the

land, production buildings, transport facilities, roads and railways, warehouses, etc.

The objects of labour and the means of labour together are the *means of production*. But until they are put to work by human labour, the means of production are just so much useless junk. In the *process of labour,* people spend their muscular, nervous and mental energies. In other words, they expend their labour power. Now labour power and the labour process are not the same thing. *Labour power* is man's ability to work whether he uses it or not. The *labour process* is an active use of labour power. Thus, in order to perform the labour process, it is necessary to combine labour power with the means of production. Labour power in conjunction with the means of production forms a single general category—the *productive forces.*

Let us turn to the productive forces of Africa. We shall begin with agriculture which up till now has held a leading place in all African production. About a fifth of the arable land is cultivated in Africa. In these areas manioca, yams, millet, sorghum, barley, maize, rice, ground-nuts, cocoa, cotton, rubber and many other crops are cultivated. Mattocks, dabas, wooden ploughs and sharpened stakes are the main instruments of labour as they were a thousand years ago. In recent decades, tractors and other agricultural machinery have been used, but usually only on the farms of rich African planters, who are few in number. Mineral fertilizers and pesticides are used on a very limited scale, and crop yields are usually low. The total agricultural output does not meet the population's food requirements.

Animal husbandry plays a big part in the life of many countries, Somalia, Mali, Libya and Ethiopia, for instance.

Forests cover about 13 per cent of Africa and constitute 15 per cent of the world's wooded area. Timber exports occupy a leading place in the trade of such countries as Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, the Cameroons and the People's Republic of the Congo. Rivers and the sea provide the population with fish.

Industry is represented primarily by the mining enterprises—pits, mines and quarries. Africa holds a leading place in the world in the output of many minerals (gold, platinum, diamonds, cobalt, niobium, antimony, lithium and manganese ores). In 1965, Africa's share in the total mineral output of capitalist and developing countries was 98.9 per cent for technical diamonds, 96.1 per cent for jewellery diamonds, 76.6 per cent for gold, 60.1 per cent for platinoids, 98.4 per cent for lithium-containing minerals, 82.8 per cent for cobalt, 53 per cent for manganese ores, 50.4 per cent for chromite, 27.1 per cent for copper, 30.6 per cent for vanadium, 17.8 per cent for uranium concentrates, and 33.6 per cent for phosphorites. The output of tin, zinc, iron ores and bauxites is also high. Prospects are bright for the oil industry. In 1967, Africa put out 10 per cent of the oil produced in the capitalist world, and the figure is expected to rise to 15 per cent in the immediate future.

The manufacturing industries are extremely underdeveloped in most African countries so that Africa's share in the world industrial output

is negligible. The bulk of the mining industry and agricultural exports goes to industrially developed countries unprocessed.

Africa's productive forces include roads (over one million km) and railways (some 80,000 km, in December 1966). On the whole, the continent is lagging behind the rest of the world in all modes of transport. Africa has only about eight per cent of the roads and seven per cent of the overall length of the railways, and accounts for only about three per cent of shipments by all kinds of transport in the capitalist world. Most of the railways were built to connect mining and agricultural regions with major ports, such as Dakar, Abidjan, Lagos, Djibuti, Dar-es Salaam, Accra and Suez, to enable the colonialists to ship out raw materials and bring in their own goods. There were practically no intracontinental routes. It seems incredible that an African could get to Paris or London by air quicker than to a remote district in his own country. Freight costs from Abidjan (Ivory Coast) to the neighbouring Upper Volta are higher than to Marseilles.

Man is the major and decisive productive force. No matter how fertile and generous the land, it yields nothing without labour. The more fertile it is, the more rapidly it becomes covered with impenetrable thickets. Domestic animals become wild without the labour of the cattle-breeder. Everything in Africa—the simple mud-houses in the villages and the modern multi-storey hotels in the cities, the deep pits and industrial buildings, railways and asphalt roads—is created by the labour of millions of African workers.

Now let us sum up what is meant by the productive forces of society. The objects of labour and the means of labour together form the means of production. The means of production and the people's labour power together form the productive forces (Fig. 1).

Productive Forces		
People	Means of Production	
LABOUR—the use of labour power for purposeful transformation of nature, for producing material wealth.	OBJECTS OF LABOUR—objects on which human labour is used in producing material wealth.	MEANS OF LABOUR—implements enabling man to produce material wealth.

Fig. 1. What are productive forces?

What Are Production Relations?

At first glance it looks as if people engage in production singly: the peasant tills his plot, the artisan makes wooden or copper articles, the weaver makes fabrics on his loom from morning till night. Actually, neither the peasant, nor the artisan works alone. Usually, the peasant's tools and the weaver's loom are made by other people. The peasant cannot plough the field without tools made by the artisan, and the artisan cannot work without food which is grown by the peasant. Production is always carried out by groups, by a community of people. That is why in this pamphlet we will discuss *social production*.

Let us take, as an example, an ordinary African village. Everyone would agree that the relations between the villagers are solid, stable and varied. First, there are family links, parents and children, brothers and sisters, uncles and nephews. Then many of the villagers may be united simply by friendly, personal ties.

If the village has a common field it is cultivated by everyone who can work. Often the villagers go hunting or fishing together, build a school or a road by common effort. Manifested in joint labour are not just family, kindred, or personal ties but social *production relations*.

Production relations exist between the people of different villages and regions. Suppose a family has gathered in a good harvest of millet and rice, and that they have more than enough for themselves, so that they can sell a portion of it. This surplus becomes a *commodity*. With the money for the millet and rice the peasant family can then buy other commodities which they do not produce, for example, a mattock, or perhaps clothing, things which have been made by the labour of other *commodity producers*—artisans.

When a young man leaves his family in the village and gets a job hundreds of kilometres away at a plantation or in the city he enters into certain production relations with his boss. The young man has nothing but his labour power, his ability to work. He will be given the temporary use of means of production which belong to his boss. So the young man will not be working for himself, but for the boss. Now their personal relations are not important—they may never even see each other—but their pro-

duction relations are. The worker is exploited, and the boss is the exploiter and so they belong to different social classes.

What are classes?

Clearly *the wage worker and his master differ from each other primarily in their position in social production*. The very words "the wage worker" and "the master" characterise this best of all. The difference in their positions in social production is determined by their *relations to the means of production*. The wage worker (or proletarian) is without means of production. He applies for a job because he has neither a field, nor a lathe to provide for him. But the master (the capitalist employer), the owner of the means of production has. So he is able to live on the labour of other people, to exploit wage workers.

The roles of the employer and of the wage worker in the social *organisation of labour* are different. The employer makes decisions, gives orders and directions, and the worker obeys.

The difference in the position of the worker and the employer in *social production* determines the difference between their position in relation to distribution and consumption of social wealth, i.e., the difference in the way in which they obtain their income, and in its size.

Tens of millions of wage workers in the countries where the means of production still belong to private capitalists create enormous wealth by their sweat and labour. Now how is this wealth distributed? The worker receives low wages while the employer makes fabulous profits. With such distribution of wealth the

consumption of the worker and the capitalist is of course as different as night from day. Millions of working people all over the world live below subsistence level. Many starve because they have no money for food. Many die of illness because they cannot get expensive drugs, or often any kind of medical care. At the same time, the propertied classes live in luxury. They can have large, comfortable homes, villas, cars and yachts. Special hospitals and hotels are built even for their cats and dogs...

So now we can define classes. *Classes are large groups of people which differ in their positions in the historical system of social production, in their relation to the means of production, in their role in the social organisation of labour and, consequently, in the size of the share of social wealth they obtain and in their way of getting it.*

To sum up. Production relations play a decisive role in the life of society. The position of the producer in social production, distribution, exchange and consumption is determined by who owns the means of production.

When this ownership is private, a minority owns the means of production and the majority does not. So the majority of the people have to make their living by becoming wage workers for the minority, by whom they are exploited. With public ownership, when the means of production belong to the whole people, there are no private owners or capitalists. This makes the appropriation of the fruits of other people's labour, the exploitation of man by man, impossible.

Now we can define political economy. This

science is the study of *production relations in their inseparable connection with the productive forces*. We will discuss this in detail in Chapter II.

Two Worlds—Two Ideologies

This definition of political economy makes it clear that this science concerns the most fundamental and topical problems in the development of human society. We should look to it for the explanation, for instance, of the inequitable economic relations between the African countries, and the imperialist countries of the West. And in political economy we should find out why the basic means of production in most African countries still belong to foreign capital. It should show us why foreign capital holds the dominant economic positions in African countries and tries to influence the development of these countries in a way that it will ensure still higher profits for foreign capitalists.

The unequal *distribution* of the results of the African workers' labour between Africa and the foreign monopolies is due to the capitalist principle of dividing the proceeds by the amount of capital involved. Since the larger portion of the means of production is in the hands of foreign companies, the bulk of the national income of the developing countries (about $5,000 million) finds its way into the banks of New York, London, Paris, Brussels, etc., every year as monopoly profits. Foreign companies gain still greater profits as a result of an *unequal exchange* which they impose on the Asian, African and

Latin American countries. They buy raw materials and agricultural produce from the developing countries very cheaply, and charge fantastic prices for the manufactured goods they sell. This inflicts enormous damage on the countries whose economic development is lagging behind. At present they lose about $ 15,000 million a year as a result of an unequal exchange.

Inevitably, this situation in production, distribution and exchange affects *consumption*. Everybody knows that the standard of living in Africa is one of the lowest in the world, while foreign companies operating in Africa, like Unilever, Shell, SCOA, Pechinet, etc., are among the richest.

Is it really likely, under these conditions, that capitalist companies or their theorists will interpret the economic phenomena in Africa correctly? Obviously, the bourgeois economists "explain" the causes of Africa's lag in economic development from their own class positions. The advocates of imperialism are trying to produce theoretical justification for their shameless robbery of the developing countries.

Nowadays one does not often come across bourgeois theories which openly claim that the oppressed peoples are inferior. Under changed conditions bourgeois theorists have to change their propaganda. "Classical" colonialism is being superseded by a modified, more disguised and therefore more dangerous colonialism, the so-called *neo-colonialism*.

In books and articles by modern bourgeois economists, one reads fine words about "decolonisation," about the need for the economic development of Africa, about the "co-operation"

between the colonies and the former metropolitan countries. But when one cuts out all the empty verbiage it really finally boils down to the "co-operation" between rider and horse. That is why neo-colonialist, imperialist political economy cannot give an objective, scientific analysis of the economic situation in Africa.

It has been asked whether objective, economic science can exist, since it deals with problems which cannot be treated neutrally by different social classes and strata of society. Such a science does exist in Marxist political economy by which the working class parties and the working people of nearly all countries are guided in their class struggle and in the building of a new life.

Why do we say that Marxist political economy is an objective, scientific explanation of economic reality? Because, unlike bourgeois political economy, it has nothing to hide, nothing to conceal. It does not mask exploitation of one class by another, or the oppression of millions of people in the world by a handful of imperialist powers.

Marxist political economy not *only explains* why the exploitation of some people by others exists, *but shows how to do away with social injustice, how to build socialism—a new society without exploitation.*

In October 1917, the working class in tsarist Russia, in close alliance with the working peasantry, carried out the first successful *socialist revolution* in history. Now scientific socialism is *no longer just a theory, it is a practical reality for millions of working people.*

Many nations have followed the example of

Soviet Russia. Socialist revolutions have won in several countries of Europe and Asia. The heroic Cuban people have also started to build socialism, and socialism has appeared on the Latin American continent.

An increasing number of countries which have won political independence are declaring for socialism. The leaders of many African states have repeatedly proclaimed their intention to lead their peoples in building a socialist society. World socialism is growing and becomes stronger every year and proving its advantages over the capitalist system in practice.

Since more and more peoples have begun to build socialism, our era may be called *the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.*

This transition does not happen spontaneously but out of violent conflict. There is an uncompromising struggle between two ideologies: bourgeois ideology which defends the system of exploitation of man by man and Marxist ideology—the ideology of the working class, the toiling peasantry and the oppressed peoples.

The capitalist theorists are using every means to prevent the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism. The fact that an increasing number of African peoples have preferred socialism to capitalism is attributed by the bourgeois propagandists to the "intrigues" of world communism, to "the hand of Moscow," etc.

Unfortunately, some people in Africa are taken in by this imperialist propaganda. Some theoreticians have tried to prove that there is no difference between the policy of the Soviet Union towards Africa and the policy of the

USA, Britain or any other imperialist power. One can ask such theoreticians: which class in the Soviet Union or in any other socialist country is interested in plundering the peoples of Africa? And could they perhaps name a Soviet company with factories, mines or shops in Africa?

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries render disinterested aid to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. They seek no financial gain for themselves. The socialist countries do have an "interest." They have an internationalist duty towards the peoples who have rid themselves of colonialism and are fighting world imperialism. This is the common interest of all socialist countries and of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, of the progressive forces the world over: to do away with political oppression and economic exploitation of the peoples of these continents by world imperialism.

At present there are two basic social systems in the world—socialism and capitalism. Each of these systems has its own ideology, its own approach and method of explaining phenomena and things. Marxist ideology explains the phenomena of economic life from the working people's point of view. Bourgeois ideology interprets them from the viewpoint of the interests of monopolies.

The ideology of scientific socialism is as irreconcilable with the ideology of imperialism as are the interests of the exploited with those of the exploiters. So each of these ideologies gives quite different answers to the fundamental questions of interest to the peoples of Africa: Why

is the African continent lagging behind in economic development? Is it reasonable to repeat the experience of the economic development of the imperialist powers? What form should future development take?

Marxist political economy answers these questions.

Chapter II

WHY IS AFRICA LAGGING BEHIND IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?

An Underdeveloped or a Plundered Continent?

Africa is often referred to as an economically "underdeveloped" continent. But in terms of Marxist political economy this is an inaccurate definition. It is aimed at concealing the true causes of their plight from the African peoples.

The division of countries into "underdeveloped" and "developed" only reflects the present state of affairs. Bourgeois economists classify these groups by the average per capita income. It is common knowledge that the average income in the African countries is now much lower than in the countries of West Europe or North America. Has this always been so?

Just a few hundred years ago, in Africa, as on other continents, there were many regions economically more or less developed, with a high culture for their time. Five to seven hundred years ago, there were in West Africa such relatively developed states as Ghana, Mali, Songai, Dahomey and Ife.

The high level of development of some African regions a few hundred years ago was noted by the well-known French economist, Pierre Moussa. In his book, *Nations Proletarians,* he wrote that "the superiority of the West in eco-

nomic development is a relatively recent phenomenon. In the seventeenth century the Egyptian fellah and the French peasant had approximately the same standard of living. In that era European civilisation had the same level of development as the civilisation of Islamic countries." Moussa admitted that "the Western world has gone really forward in six or seven generations although man learnt to work stone, to domesticate animals, to cultivate agricultural crops, to make earthenware out of clay approximately 450 generations ago. Thus, the gap between the West and other parts of the globe on a scale of world history is a new phenomenon. This gap has become extreme in recent decades."

So if one turns to the historical development of Africa, it would be more accurate to speak not about the "underdeveloped continent" but about the continent whose economic development *was artificially held back by external forces.*

But this is an incomplete definition. It does not answer the question: Why is Africa lagging behind in economic development?

Different researchers provide different answers to this question.

African backwardness is often attributed to its *geographical and climatic conditions.* Certainly, one cannot ignore the effects of geographical and climatic conditions on the development of social production. The Sahara desert was an insurmountable barrier for merchants and travellers, and the scorching sun, the lack of water during dry periods hamper agricultural production in many regions even now. But

these negative factors cannot be regarded as the main cause of the present lag of Africa, because over recent centuries the geographical and climatic conditions of the world have not changed appreciably, while the gap in the level of economic development of different countries came about during the last 100—200 years. It will be noted that some regions of former tsarist Russia (especially Central Asia and the Far North), as well as Mongolia, were also almost inaccessible and geographically isolated from the centres of world civilisation. Their climatic conditions are also unfavourable. Yet, in recent decades, the peoples of these regions have managed to overcome their economic backwardness. So we cannot look for the main cause of economic lag in geographical and climatic conditions.

Some people seek the answer in the low density of the population. But this is also scientifically unsound. If this were the cause, why is it that while for some decades now Africa has held one of the first places for population growth rates, the gap in economic development between Africa and the countries of Western Europe or North America is widening?

The main cause of Africa's economic backwardness lies in the fact that *the imperialists have for centuries oppressed and cruelly exploited the African peoples.*

Unwilling to admit the obvious truth that imperialist robbery is the main cause, the bourgeois theoreticians invent diverse reasons. The insulting term "underdeveloped" was coined so that the former and present colonialists could try to convince their victims that they them-

selves were responsible for their backwardness.

Africa is not an underdeveloped continent, Africa is a *robbed* and *exploited* continent.

Not always have there been exploitation of man by man and exploitation of whole peoples and continents. *The production relations of exploitation only appeared at a certain stage in the development of the productive forces. Exploitation is not a characteristic of all, but only of certain modes of production.* To understand this, it is necessary to get acquainted with another economic concept—mode of production, in greater detail.

What Is a Mode of Production?

In Chapter I the reader has already become acquainted with the concepts of productive forces and production relations. *Mode of production means the totality of productive forces and production relations, at a particular historical stage in the development of human society.*

The mode of production cannot remain unchanged since human society cannot be stopped in its development. This development takes place in the form of progressive movement from the simple to the complex, from the low to the high.

History knows the following modes of production: primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and socialist (or communist).

How has the change from one mode of production to another occurred in the history of human society?

There is close interdependence between the

productive forces and the production relations. The level of development of the productive forces determines the character of production relations.

A caveman, though he possessed great physical strength, was weak and helpless in the face of nature which surrounded him. With only stones and stricks, primitive men had to go out in large groups to hunt wild beasts. Their common bag was divided into equal parts and distributed among the hunters.

Fighting for their existence people learnt to make more complicated tools from stone: primitive darts, scrapers, javelins, axes, arrows and other things. Around 3,000 years B.C., in West Asia and in Egypt people started making copper, bronze and iron tools. In tropical Africa, rich in iron ore, iron was used earlier than other metals.

In the primitive era, the fruits of human labour were few and the conditions of life hard. Man used all his strength to gain the means of subsistence. For a very long time human labour could not create any *surplus product,* so no one could live on the labour of another. In other words, the primitive level of productive forces determined the character of production relations. There was communal ownership of land, no private ownership of the means of production, one group of people could not exploit another group, and there were no divisions into classes. This was the *primitive-communal mode of production.*

The remnants of the primitive-communal mode of production can still be seen in many parts of the world. In many regions of Africa,

for instance, communal relations are still preserved. People live like large families, land is communally owned and the results of labour are divided into equal parts between all villagers. In a big African family like this there are no exploiters or exploited.

However, it would be a blunder to idealise this "equality" or to present the primitive commune as a paradise, because this social equality was due to low labour productivity and the utter dependence of man on natural forces. A closer look at this "paradise" would show hunger, misery, disease and ignorance.

As the productive forces and, particularly the instruments of labour, developed, man's power over nature increased. The *social division of labour began.*

Gradual improvements in the instruments of labour and the methods of gaining the means of subsistence led, with the passage of time, to a radical change in the production mode. The iron axe permitted man to clear larger areas, to put them to the plough, while the appearance of agricultural tools turned *agriculture* into one of the basic branches of labour.

Animal husbandry became an independent branch. The *first large social division of labour* occurred: the separation of livestock raising from grain growing. The manufacture of the instruments of labour, utensils, clothes and footwear also became another independent branch. *Craftsmen* came into being. Soon *trade* started: grain growers exchanged their surplus for the products of cattle-breeding, craftsmen exchanged their wares for sorghum, millet, rice, meat, etc.

With the rise of the social division of labour

on the basis of the growth of labour productivity, man began to produce more than he needed for subsistence. It became obvious, for instance, that an additional worker used to raise wheat or cattle could produce more than he himself consumed. The *economic possibility* of exploitation and the *economic need* for additional workers arose. But primitive-communal production relations hampered the development of the productive forces.

So then members of other communities who had been captured were not killed or freed. They were made to work, and kept in *slavery*. Thus a new type of society came into being with private ownership of the means of production and of slaves, the *division of society into classes* began and a *slave-owning society* emerged.

Slavery existed in one form or another in the distant past among almost all peoples.

At first slavery was on patriarchal lines. Slaveholders often worked together with their slaves. This form of slavery existed in several parts of Africa south of the Sahara. The new production relations characteristic of the slave-owning mode of production stimulated the development of the productive forces.

With the further social division of labour and the development of exchange, the character of tribes and clans changed. Tribal chiefs and warriors became kings, emperors and so on. They began more frequently to use their power to defend and multiply their property, to suppress slave uprisings. For this purpose armed squads were formed, bodies of power and courts and prisons emerged. Thus, *the state made its appear-*

ance as the instrument of the ruling class to suppress the exploited masses.

As a result of the use of slave labour on a huge scale in ancient Rome, enormous agricultural estates—latifundia—were set up. In ancient Egypt, slaves were used to build the huge pyramids. One of these pyramids, the pyramid of Cheops, is 150 metres high. Slaves and peasants in groups of 100,000 took about 30 years to build this pyramid.

Slavery, historically the first and crudest form of exploitation of man by man, could not arouse any interest in the development of the instruments of labour in the slave. The inhuman exploitation of the slaves was tantamount to slow destruction. With the passage of time, however, the production relations of slavery began to lag behind the development of the productive forces and eventually became a hindrance to production.

The history of slave-owning society is one of violent class struggle and numerous slave uprisings. One of the most famous of these was that led by Spartacus (75-77 B.C.). Slave uprisings sapped the strength of the slave-owning states.

In the transformation of the classless primitive society into a slave-owning society, the productive forces were the main driving force. The improved instruments of labour enabled man to produce a *surplus product* from the sale of which the class of exploiters—slave-owners—could live. But in a society divided into opposite classes, *class struggle* emerged and inevitably became the driving force of history till the emergence of a society without the exploitation—a socialist society.

The further development of mankind—the transition from the slave-owning mode of production to the feudal mode—vividly illustrates the interdependence of the production relations and productive forces.

Since slaves were in no way interested in increasing output, a social necessity arose to create a stimulus to increase the worker's labour productivity. The development of the productive forces called for a change in the prevailing slave-owning relations of production. In Europe, for instance, slave-owners gradually began to settle slaves on their land as dependent tenants (coloni). A colonus was a little more interested in labour, in the improvement of the instruments of labour, because part of his harvest was his—he had to give the other part to the feudal lord in kind, as the form of rent. For part of each week, the serf worked for himself and his own family, to create the *necessary product*. For the rest of the time he worked to create the *surplus product* which was taken by the feudal lord without payment. The landlord did not provide for the labour power. The peasant had to support himself, and produce his own means of subsistence. This made him look for ways to increase his productivity by improving and developing the instruments and means of labour.

In this way *feudal society* emerged. It was based on the feudal lord's complete ownership of the means of production, primarily the land, and his incomplete ownership of the serf.

Of course, the transition from one mode of production to another does not happen over-

night. In Europe, for instance, centuries elapsed before the slave system gave way completely to the feudal system.

How the feudal system was established in some regions of Africa can be traced by studying the development of the state of Songai in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Authentic documents of that time reveal that there was a system of slave-owning latifundia under the first rulers of the Songai dynasty. Slaves were usually captured in raids. Slave labour was mainly used in agriculture. The slaves were supervised by slave-drivers. Later, the slaves became tied to the land and had to pay their lord rent in kind. According to Songai customs, the descendants of the slaves, although they remained slaves, acquired certain rights in the second, third and subsequent generations. They could not be killed or sold, but they continued to be low in the social scale. The social system of the Sokoto state (the Hausa state from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries) is an example of a more mature feudal society.

Of course, the forms of feudal society in different regions of Africa were not an exact replica of feudalism in Western Europe.

Although certain features are specific to the economic and historical development of Africa, *the African continent developed according to the general laws of social development* from a classless society to a class society. In the development trend, some 200-300 years ago, many regions of Africa did not differ substantially from other continents, including Europe.

This situation prevailed before colonisation, before the enslavement of Africa.

Colonisation of Africa

To understand the essence of colonisation better, it is necessary to look at the history of Europe at that period. In the fifteenth century, important discoveries were made in Europe. For example, printing was invented, which made it possible to transmit knowledge. Also, in the 15th century, after the invention of gun-powder in China, the Europeans began to make firearms, which gave them a great advantage in warfare. European navigators started to use the compass, which enabled them to sail much farther and to orientate themselves better in the open sea.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus, who was in the service of the King of Spain, discovered America. In 1498, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, a Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, reached India. The Portuguese navigator Magellan was the first to sail round the world. His voyage took about three years. In the middle of the 15th century, the Portuguese reached the west coast of Africa, sailed up the rivers and penetrated into West Africa in search of gold.

Soon, the Spaniards and Portuguese were establishing tropical crop plantations in America. In the beginning they made the native population, the American Indians, work on the plantations. Many of the Indians succumbed to toil, starvation and disease. Presently there was a shortage of labour power. So the European planters began to buy slaves in Africa. In exchange for African slaves, they gave the local chiefs cheap ornaments, fabrics, alcoholic drinks and guns. This was one of the most ignominious pages in history—*the trade in Africans.*

Until the 15th century Black Africa was divided into large stable states, most of which consisted of many principalities. However, the slave-trade which began in the 16th century and lasted for almost three hundred years, led to the division of Africa into small belligerent states. This left the continent defenceless against the European colonialists.

With the beginning of the European colonisation, trade in Africa underwent great changes. Earlier, fabrics, gold and handicrafts prevailed in African trade; slave-trade was very limited. With the arrival of the Europeans, the slave-trade moved to first place.

The chiefs and military leaders used the slave-trade for personal enrichment. But to get slaves, it was necessary to make war. So the Europeans sold the chiefs weapons and horses to enable them to make war and capture prisoners. This brought about a situation in which all Africa was engaged in permanent tribal wars.

Continual warfare resulted in the decline of African culture. Many African towns were ruined, schools abandoned, people left their place of birth. Peasants and craftsmen deserted their fields and their crafts.

The early colonists brought disaster to the African people. As Marx put it, Africa was turned into "a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins." And for every African that arrived in America alive five or six died in skirmishes or in the holds of slave ships. According to the famous Africanist, Dr. Du Bois Africa lost about one hundred million people during that period—the youngest and strongest. *This loss alone tremendously hampered the development*

of the productive forces on the African continent.

The slave-trade in African Negroes, which was, in a quite peculiar form, conducive to the primary accumulation of capital in Europe, was disastrous to development in Africa, through the loss of the strongest and most able-bodied part of her population. So it resulted in the stagnation of Africa's productive forces at the lowest level. Meanwhile the plunder of Africa's natural resources and the slave-trade helped to accelerate European economic development.

The end of the 14th century in Italy and the 16th century in other European countries saw the emergence of large enterprises—*manufactories* where *wage workers* were employed. The development of the manufactories was hampered by the peasants' attachment to the land and their dependence on their feudal lords.

Manufactory owners paid wages. They used part of the surplus product created by the labour of the wage workers to expand their production. The craftsmen could not compete with the manufactories. Many closed their own workshops and went to work as hired labourers at the manufactories. It took several centuries for private property to accumulate in the hands of a few, to deprive the bulk of the people of the means of production—the peasants of their land, and the craftsmen of their tools, to force them to sell labour power. Marx called this process the *primary accumulation of capital.* Within the frame-work of the feudal society two new classes sprang up: the class of capitalists and the class of proletarians. This presaged the emergence of a new mode of production—*capitalism.*

The colonisation of Africa was one of the most important sources of the accumulation of capital in Europe and North America. Plunder of the rich overseas countries, violence in the colonies, and the slave-trade contributed to the accumulation of countless riches in the hands of the rising bourgeoisie of Europe and provided the plantations and workshops of North America with cheap labour power.

It was during this period that Africa began to lag behind other continents in economic development. However, this was only the first stage of the capitalist mode of production which began to oust feudalism in Europe after the victory of the French bourgeois revolution in 1789.

The development of capitalism brought still more suffering to the peoples of the world, and, in particular, to the peoples of Africa.

The Colonial System of Imperialism

In the 19th century capitalist Europe saw a period of rapid growth in industry. The building of new industrial enterprises required vast investments. Capitalists began to form *joint-stock companies*. In exchange for money put into the joint-stock company the capitalists received "shares." A share is a document which certifies the amount of capital it represents. Shares are bought and sold on special markets called stock exchanges. Shareholders receive their profits according to the number of shares they hold, i.e., the capital invested in the enterprise. The bulk of the profits goes into the pockets of the big shareholders who, as a rule, are members of the board of directors of the joinst-stock company.

Joint-stock companies contributed to the *centralisation of capital.* On the basis of amalgamation it became possible to build railways, to equip the metallurgical, engineering and other industries with machinery.

Capitalist competition between employers inevitably led to the ruin of smaller employers and their absorption by the bigger ones. This was the *process of the centralisation of capitalist production and capital* in the hands of a small number of the more powerful capitalists. This small group of capitalists became the masters of whole branches of industry and trade. Competition between the big capitalists became acute and ruinous. Each strived to seize markets and destroy rivals. When they failed, they began to negotiate with each other on the size of output, price levels, the division of markets, and so on. It was easier for a few scores of giant enterprises to reach agreement than for hundreds and thousands of small ones. This is how *monopolies*—amalgamations of capitalists which control the output and marketing of the greater part of production in order to obtain *monopoly profits*—originated.

Monopolies began to appear at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Concentration of production by monopoly capital reached such a high degree that, as Lenin put it, monopolies became one of the pillars of economic life. Capitalism had turned into imperialism.

Imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter III. Here it is proper to discuss the *consequences of the establishment of imperialism*

for the African peoples.

Deep changes in the development of the productive forces during the 19th and 20th centuries were typical of a small number of countries: Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, the USA, Japan and a few others. The greater part of the world, Asia, Africa and Central and South America, could not take advantage of the scientific and technological achievements of Western Europe and North America. On the contrary, these parts became the object of exploitation by developed capitalist countries, "the world village" of imperialism.

As capitalism changed to imperialism, the capitalist countries began to fight for markets for their goods, for sources of raw materials for their industries and for capital investment spheres. The method of achieving these aims was the seizure of the territories of economically less developed countries. *The seizure and exploitation of colonies* became, for the capitalist monopolies, one of the main methods of obtaining super-profits.

In the period from 1870 to 1890, the imperialist powers divided the Asian and African territories between them. The European powers had already had colonial possessions on these continents before this period. But till 1876, the greater part of Asia and nine-tenths of Africa were not under the rule of the imperialist powers. At the end of the 19th century, the seizure of new colonies as markets, as spheres of capital investment and as sources of raw materials, became a headlong race.

By the beginning of the 20th century the whole globe had been divided among the biggest

capitalist powers. The majority of Asian and African countries had fallen under the rule of a handful of colonial powers. The territorial division of Africa between the competing imperialist powers was legalised at the Berlin Conference (November 15, 1884—February 26, 1885). As a result of the signing of the Colonial Pact, Africa was divided between the British, French, German, Portuguese and other imperialists.

The history of the African peoples provides many examples of heroic struggle against the foreign enslavement. The peoples of the African continent resisted the imperialists violently. However, it was an uneven contest. With insufficient time to recover from the grave consequences of the slave-trade, still divided into many small belligerent states, Africa could not resist the well-equipped colonial troops who would stop at nothing. The imperialists created the *colonial system* with fire and sword.

But while exposing and condemning colonial oppression by the imperialist states, we must not ignore the difference between the colonialists and imperialists, on the one hand, and the peoples of the European states, on the other. The same monopolies which loot colonial peoples, exploit the working people of the metropolitan countries.

In 1871, bourgeois leaders, zealous supporters of colonisation, like Jules Ferry, did not hesitate to appeal to Germany for help to suppress, with German bayonets, the Paris Commune where the French working people had taken arms and seized power. The working people in the imperialist countries and the working people in the colonies are natural allies in the struggle against

their common exploiter—capitalist monopolies.

The enslaved peoples of Africa have fought for freedom and independence for many decades. However, only in the middle of the 20th century when a new international situation arose, with the support of world socialism and all the world's progressive forces, the national-liberation revolutions managed to end colonialism on the greater part of the African continent.

Colonial rule had the most fatal consequences for the peoples of Africa. These consequences deserve to be considered separately.

"A Civilising Mission" or Imperialist Exploitation?

The bourgeois propagandists like to write about the "civilising mission" of the European powers in Africa. But the facts contradict these false claims.

"It is common knowledge," Lenin wrote, "that colonies are conquered with fire and sword, that the population of the colonies are brutally treated, and that they are exploited in a thousand ways (by exporting capital, through concessions, etc., cheating in the sale of goods, submission to the authorities of the ruling nation, and so on and so forth)." For many years imperialist rule in the colonies hampered the development of the productive forces of Africa and other enslaved continents.

The colonists built mines and enterprises to process the raw materials, to plunder the natural resources of Africa. They built ports and railways to export raw materials to the metropolitan countries. This is how the first capitalist enterprises in Africa emerged, and they were owned

by the foreign monopolies.

The most important feature of the African economy in the colonial era was the *absence of indigenous capitalist development and the introduction of capitalism from outside by foreign monopolies.*

The introduction of capitalism into Africa took place within the framework of the colonial system of imperialism, and, therefore, in extremely rough and brutal forms.

To gain a clear insight into the specific features of the development of capitalism in Africa let us compare it with the development of capitalism in Western Europe. The industrial development was closely connected with the internal needs in Britain, France, Germany, etc. The capitalists in Western Europe could only make profits out of the sale of goods, which were in demand on the European market, such as clothing, footwear, fabrics, foodstuffs, machines, technical equipment, cast iron, steel, etc. Therefore in the West European countries a diversified economy grew up. So textile, food, metallurgical, engineering, chemical and other industries came into being.

Economic development in Africa took a different road. Foreign capital was the sole master. Inevitably, the foreign monopolies only set up enterprises in Africa and only produced goods which were in demand for their own countries' economies. As various industries developed, the West European economy needed increasing quantities of cheap raw materials and cheap agricultural products. So the capitalist monopolies built primarily mines and pits, set up plantations to produce cotton, sisal, coffee, cocoa, etc., in Africa.

The advocates of colonialism keep harping on the theme that Europe brought civilisation to Africa, built up-to-date enterprises, ports, railways and provided jobs for millions of Africans. The African peoples know the "civilisation" of the colonialists only too well.

Hundreds of thousands of Africans were forced to build railways, mines, and ports. This was *forced labour*. The Africans built enterprises for foreign monopolies under the lash of overseers and these enterprises brought the colonialists fabulous profits.

And while they used African forced labour to build roads, mines and factories to process raw materials, the colonialists robbed the local population by heavy *taxation*. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century one of the Kenyan tribes paid the colonial authorities more than 200,000 pounds in direct taxes in ten years. An official report of the colonial administration said of this region: "If we leave this region tomorrow, the only evidence of our stay here would be buildings we put up for tax collectors."

Taxes collected under the threat of violence, and forced labour were an important source of capital and labour power for building foreign enterprises in Africa.

Deprived of the conditions for independent economic development, the African countries were turned into *raw material suppliers*. Branches which did not provide supplies for the metropolitan countries were totally neglected. That is why *the structure of the African economy acquired a one-sided, colonial character*.

The only development was in the branches

which supplied the needs of the metropolitan countries: mining, railways, harbour constructions and primary processing enterprises. These branches enabled the imperialist plunderers to extort enormous wealth from the African continent. The development of the manufacturing industry was extremely poor. Senegal, which specialised in ground-nuts, had to import groundnut oil from France. Ghana, the world largest cocoa producer, imported chocolate from Europe.

In the early sixties, Africa's industrial output was between 1 and 2 per cent of the industrial output of the whole capitalist world. There was no metallurgical or chemical industry in Africa and, until recently, not a single up-to-date engineering works.

The freight turnover of thirty African ports, from Dakar to Djibuti was lower than the freight turnover of Rotterdam. And there were fewer asphalt roads in the whole of Africa than in a small country like Switzerland.

Colonialism has left a poor inheritance in agriculture as well. The colonialists grabbed the best, most fertile lands and set up capitalist-style plantations worked by hired Africans.

A narrow specialisation, producing one or two technical crops for export, was imposed on each colony. The African peasants were forced to stop growing traditional food crops to supply the local population. The one-sided development of agriculture enabled the colonialists to provide the metropolitan countries with agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs, but made the African countries totally dependent on foreign monopolists.

The forced establishment of capitalist plan-

tations worsened the position of the African peasants—the bulk of the population. By using machinery and modern methods of land cultivation and employing cheap African labour power, the capitalist planters gained huge profits. Unable to stand up to their competition the households of small African producers fell into decay.

Preservation of the pre-capitalist relations in the African countryside was a characteristic feature of imperialist exploitation. This was very profitable for the capitalist monopolies. The numerous agents of the foreign trade companies bought the products made by the African peasants for a song and then sold them on the world capitalist market. The same trading companies often sold Western European industrial goods in Africa.

The colonial system of imperialism led to a complete dependence on the metropolitan countries. This dependence appeared first in the sphere of *production*. One-sided specialisation in the African economy turned the continent into an *agrarian and raw material appendage* of the imperialist powers.

Every African colony had stronger economic links with a far-off metropolitan country than with its neighbours. The British colony Gambia, for instance, had no ties with her neighbour Senegal—a French colony. Dahomey and Togo, situated between the British possessions of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, had virtually no ties economic or other with either. For example, in 1960, if you wanted to telephone Lome (Togo) from Lagos (the capital of Nigeria), you had to be connected through London and Paris! Yet Lome

is only a few hundred miles from Lagos. And until recently, the air route from East Africa to West Africa often lay through... European capitals.

Under colonial rule, no real force could appear in Africa that was capable of developing *national production* independently. Primary accumulation of national capital was ruled out under conditions of exploitation and looting by the colonial powers.

Colonialism prevented the *African peasants and craftsmen* from developing national productive forces. They were unable to make even the minimum accumulation necessary to expand production, to buy machinery, implements, fertilizers, to learn agronomy and technology. Even the small output of peasants and craftsmen depended entirely on the arbitrary will of the foreign monopolies.

Everything built on the continent by the imperialists with African labour (pits, mines, ports, railways, highways, etc.) was virtually a continuation of the productive forces of the metropolitan countries. They belonged to foreign monopolies and were used to create the most favourable conditions for the development of the economy of the metropolitan country.

Colonialism also made Africa dependent for the *sale* of products created by the labour of Africans. Even now the sale of the main commodities produced in Africa (cobalt, copper, uranium, ground-nuts, coffee, cocoa, bananas and so on) depends not on the home market, but exclusively on the demand from the imperialist powers. The fluctuations in volume and the price, typical of the capitalist market, are extremely unfavourable

to the economies of the African countries. The frequent fluctuations in the prices of coffee, cocoa and so on leave African peasants in a permanent state of worry about the morrow.

Even *home consumption* in the African countries entirely depends on what the foreign monopolies supply. Many regions which prior to colonisation were self-sufficient in foodstuffs, have to import wheat, rice, millet, etc.

The *socio-economic consequences* of this complete dependence on world imperialism are well known. The development of the economies of the metropolitan countries was accompanied by the stagnation in the African economy and increasing misery for the population.

Imperialist exploitation was the source of enrichment for the imperialist powers and one of the reasons for the widening gap between the level of economic development in Western Europe and North America, on the one hand, and Africa, on the other.

Thus, the colonial system of imperialism, which is inseparable from the capitalist mode of production, is the main cause of the economic backwardness of modern Africa. World imperialism helped itself forward by exploiting the African peoples and at the same time retarding African development.

As a result, the African peoples, who, in ancient times, made a valuable contribution to world culture, were put in the position of backward peoples. Countries which had been very rich and possessed enormous resources and diligent populations were forced into extreme economic and technical backwardness and poverty.

Chapter III

CAN CAPITALISM SOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS?

Which Path to Choose?

Having gained political independence the young African states face difficult problems: how to eliminate economic backwardness and to end the misery of popular masses.

Practically all economists agree that rapid economic development is necessary in the newly-free countries. This is now recognised even by bourgeois theorists who till recently tried to prove that the African peoples' economic backwardness was the natural order of things. However, the bourgeois propagandists usually will not commit themselves on how Africa should develop economically. They take the view that Africa only needs modern factories and works and that it will make no difference to the African peoples which type of economic relations dominates in new Africa, capitalist or socialist.

Of course, tractors produced in a socialist country, the Soviet Union, for example, resemble American and British tractors. Cars from socialist enterprises of Czechoslovakia are not different from cars from capitalist countries, like France, or West Germany. Industrial enterprises in socialist countries outwardly resemble those in capitalist countries—big buildings, shops, warehouses, communications, etc.

So why are the bourgeois economists so concerned with "technical problems" instead of a serious economic analysis of the prospects of the development of the African continent?

The fact is that *despite the outward resemblances of their technical equipment, socialist and capitalist enterprises actually represent two opposing worlds.* Contemporary Africa has to choose between two different roads—capitalist and socialist.

The advocates of capitalism put forward the West European countries and the United States of America as examples of rapid economic development. And it is perfectly true that industry and agriculture are highly developed in countries like the USA, Britain, France and West Germany. In these countries many thousands of tons of cast iron and steel are smelted, and thousands of tractors and cars leave the production lines every day.

But who owns these up-to-date plants and their output? Why cannot the working people, who produce a great variety of goods, buy necessities for themselves and their families? What causes unemployment? Why do the workers in the capitalist countries go on strike? Usually the bourgeois economists do not answer these questions, but when they do, they try to camouflage the truth about the nature of the capitalist system.

Karl Marx was the first to unravel the "mystery" of capitalist production, to discover the laws by which capitalism develops. He showed that capitalism not only develops productive forces but dooms millions of working people in capitalist and colonial countries to privation. He also

proved that capitalism is not an everlasting system, but one that breeds contradictions which lead to its death. Capitalist development is based on exploitation of man by man. It divides society into antagonistic classes, which inevitably leads to sharp class conflict.

The aim of the present chapter is to show, on the basis of Marx's theory, that capitalist development runs counter to the vital interests of the African peoples. *A scientific analysis of capitalism and of its socio-economic consequences shows that it cannot solve the urgent problems which face the peoples that have newly won political independence.* An understanding of the basic laws of the capitalist mode of production convinces one of this.

The Economic Unit of Capitalist Society

The first chapter of Karl Marx's *Capital* begins with the following words: "The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as 'an immense accumulation of commodities,' its unit being a single commodity."

Under capitalism commodity production is universal. Factories, plants, and agricultural farms produce commodities for sale. In capitalist society everything is for sale: factories, mills, farms, houses, the land and labour power.

Commodity production is much older than capitalism. It originated in the primitive-communal system and was developed to some extent under the slave-owning and feudal modes of production. Commodity production emerged under de-

finite conditions. Commodity exchange became an economic necessity for the producer. This arose out of the social division of labour because the weaver, for instance, who wove fabrics did not produce other commodities, he bought his food, instruments of labour, etc., on the market.

Turning the means of production and products of labour into the private property of the producer was the second condition. *The social division of labour and private ownership of the means of production were necessary conditions for the emergence of commodity production.*

For a long period, commodity production remained *small-scale, simple commodity production.*

The bulk of the population of present-day Africa are engaged in simple commodity production. Millions of the African peasants and craftsmen own primitive means of production and the product of their labour. Their main object is to make commodities which they can sell to buy the products they need for personal consumption.

As a rule, African peasants and craftsmen do not use hired labour, their production is based on their own labour and on the labour of members of their families. That is why it cannot be called capitalist. Simple commodity production excludes the exploitation of labour of other people. Despite this difference between *simple* commodity production and *capitalist* commodity production, they have much in common. Their main common feature is that both *are based on private ownership of the means of production.* The peasant and the craftsman who manage their households by their own labour, and the

capitalist who exploits wage labour are the owners of the means of production. *In this respect, simple commodity production is related to capitalist production.*

This is why simple commodity production gives rise to capitalist production. This process can be observed even now in many parts of Africa.

A great many small commodity producers—peasants and craftsmen—cannot stand up to competition and gradually become bankrupt. A minority get on well, and expand their production. Middle-men are thriving in Africa. They distribute materials and seeds to craftsmen and peasants on credit, then buy up their products at low prices. Gradually many independent craftsmen usually become wage workers at home. Peasants often sell their instruments of labour for very little, leave the villages and go to the cities in search of jobs. The middle-men and rich peasants gradually become capitalist employers and exploit the labour of other people. Instead of distributing materials among outworkers, they begin to build workshops in which the ruined craftsmen and peasants work for wages under the direct control of the owners of the enterprises.

Thus the process of the differentiation of small commodity producers into proletarians and capitalists takes place. This is the early childhood of capitalism. Africa is just embarking upon the road which Western Europe, the motherland of the capitalist mode of production, travelled long ago. The African national bourgeoisie is taking its first unsteady steps, but it

is growing up on the same basis—simple commodity production.

So it is very important to begin a study of capitalism with commodity production. Commodity production precedes capitalist production, and capitalism is the most developed form of commodity production, where not only the products of labour, but labour power itself becomes a commodity, and finally, the commodity becomes basic economic category of bourgeis society.

A *commodity* is a product of labour which is produced not for personal consumption, but for exchange, for sale. Naturally, if it is produced for others, it must be useful, i.e., it must meet some human requirement, otherwise nobody will buy it. A thing's utility, its capacity to satisfy this or that human want is called *use-value*. The use-value of bread, manioca, sugar, salt and meat is that these commodities meet human needs for food. The use-value of bubu or other clothing is that by day they protect the body against the burning sun and in the evening keep it warm.

Man can buy commodities to use. For a certain sum of money, for instance, he can buy a suit, or several pairs of boots or a certain amount of meat. As use-values these commodities are not comparable: the suit covers the body and meat is eaten. What they have in common is the fact that they are all the products of man's labour and therefore have value. *Value, which becomes apparent in exchange, makes commodities commensurable*. Labour is the basis, the only source of value.

The more labour is expended on the produc-

tion of a commodity, the higher its value. A peasant, for instance, raises cotton and sells it to a weaver. The weaver weaves cloth from which garments are made. Why are the ready-made garments more expensive than the cotton used to make them? Because the labour of the weaver and tailor has been added. The garments represent the labour of the peasant, the weaver and the tailor.

So *the value of a commodity is measured by the amount of labour that has gone into producing it.*

However, commodity producers work under unequal conditions, use different implements and have different skills. They expend different amounts of time and labour on producing the same commodity.

Does this mean that the slower a man works, the more imperfect his implements, the greater value he produces? Certainly not.

The value of commodities is determined, not by the labour-time of each individual producer, but by the *socially necessary labour-time.* Marx defines *socially necessary labour-time* as the time required to produce a use-value under normal conditions of production with the average level of skill and labour intensity in a given society.

If the socially necessary time needed for the manufacture of a table is nine hours, the value of each such table will be equivalent to nine hours. Ten hours of individual labour embodied in one table and eight hours of individual labour embodied in another appear on the market as nine hours of socially necessary labour. This means that the craftsmen who expended ten

hours on making the table and the one who expended eight hours, exchanging their commodities on the market will obtain a value equal to nine hours of socially necessary time. Exchange of commodities takes place according to the amount of socially necessary time embodied in them. This is what determines the value of a commodity.

As a rule, socially necessary time is determined by the production conditions under which the *bulk of the commodities* of a given kind are produced. Let us explain this by an example.

From ancient times African craftsmen, using primitive tools, produced cast iron and iron pots and pans. These were in great demand, and local production prospered. The situation in weaving was the same. Brightly coloured fabrics with original national designs were made by thousands of African weavers. But the situation changed when metal pots and fabrics made in European factories were imported. These were produced at well-equipped capitalist enterprises. Soon machine-made articles flooded the African market. This led to the decline in African handicrafts.

Why was this? Because the labour-time socially necessary for making pots and fabrics was no longer determined by African conditions, but by highly mechanised European capitalist production. The African craftsman now used much more than the socially necessary labour-time. So he either could not sell his commodities at all, or had to sell them at a price below their value in terms of the labour he had expended, a price which did not pay for the expenditure of his labour.

As we stated above, a commodity represents the unity of use-value and value. What is the explanation of the *dual nature of a commodity?*

One of Marx's most brilliant discoveries in political economy was the discovery of the *dual nature of labour* embodied in a commodity. Karl Marx proved that: "On the one hand, labour is, speaking physiologically, an expenditure of human labour power, and in its character of identical abstract human labour, it creates and forms the value of commodities. On the other hand, all labour is the expenditure of human labour power in a specific form and with a definite aim, and in this its character of concrete useful labour, it produces use-values."

Let us try to work out the meaning of this complex definition beginning with the content of *concrete labour.*

Different kinds of labour are as varied as different use-values. Different types of labour differ in aim, method, instruments and objects of labour and in results. The miner uses a pick and works on a coal layer. The aim of the miner's labour is to produce coal. The tailor uses a sewing machine, scissors and needle. He works on cloth and his aim is to make a coat, suit, or trousers.

So, different use-values are produced by different types of concerte labour. Each use-value contains a special kind of concrete labour. Nevertheless, all forms of labour have something in common: each commodity is the result of the expenditure of human energy. This is *abstract*

human labour or an expenditure of physical human power.

So concrete labour and abstract labour are not two types of labour, but two aspects of labour. In other words, *labour is the expenditure of concrete labour and abstract labour.* During the labour process the producer spends his energy. He expends mental, muscular and nervous energy, but he also spends this energy in a specific way—in the form of concrete labour.

These two aspects of labour are the sources of two aspects of a commodity. *Concrete labour creates the use-value of the commodity* (cloth, for example, is created by a weaver's labour), while *abstract labour creates the value of the commodity.* As value, cloth is a product of labour abstracted from its concrete form.

In commodity production there is an irreconcilable contradiction between concrete labour and abstract labour. And in a society where there is private ownership of the means of production, this dual nature of labour is reflected in the *contradiction between private and social labour.*

The concrete labour of a commodity producer has a private character. The commodity producer is a private owner of the instruments and means of labour. He determines the fate of his product independently, at his own risk. He decides what to produce, in what quantities, etc. He does not know beforehand whether his concrete labour is wanted by society or in what quantity.

But since the labour of each commodity producer is a part of the labour available to a given society, private labour is also social labour.

The social character of labour is the direct result of the *social division of labour*. Each commodity producer works within society, and for society. He is connected with other commodity producers by thousands of links. He produces one product and he has to buy all other products he needs for his work or for his personal use from society.

But the social aspect of labour is concealed in the commodity; direct labour has an individual, private character. Its social character is not revealed in the labour process. The social aspect of labour only becomes apparent on the market, only in exchange.

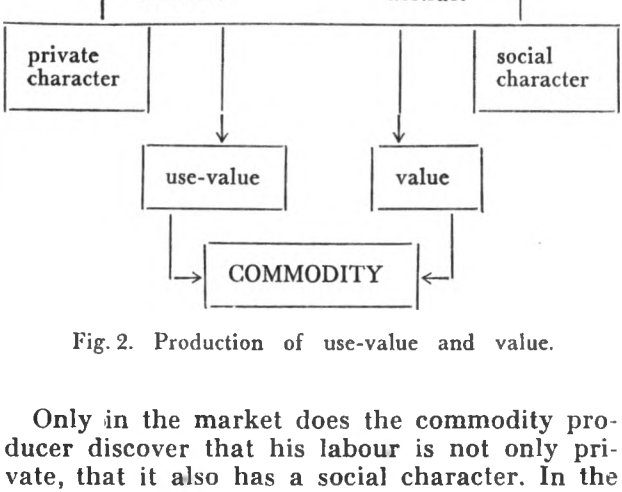

Fig. 2. Production of use-value and value.

Only in the market does the commodity producer discover that his labour is not only private, that it also has a social character. In the market one often hears: "Buy boots!" "Buy

good yarn!" "I have rice and millet!" These expressive calls reflect the commodity producer's desire for social recognition of the results of his labour. His thoughts could be put this way: "People, what I have produced is not for me, but for you. Buy my commodity and thus recognise that you want it, that I did not plough sand. Recognise the usefulness of my labour."

However, since the private, isolated commodity producer makes goods for consumers he does not know, he may fail to find a buyer. If he fails to sell his commodity, his labour does not find social recognition. This is a serious matter for him because he then cannot buy the articles he needs for consumption, or the means of production. Unable to continue production, he is ruined.

So, while in theory commodity producers can realise the use-values they produce as values, that is, receive for them equivalent values in other commodities, in practice, many of them may be unable to sell their commodities. Thus the contradictions between private and social labour, between concrete and abstract labour, between the use-value and the value of a commodity are manifested. These contradictions can be resolved only by changing the private ownership of the means of production into ownership by the whole of society.

Competition and the Anarchy of Production

At present in almost all African countries programmes for economic development have been adopted or are being drafted. Planned economy and planning methods are being discussed in

the press. In this connection it will be to the point to discuss the character of capitalist production in greater detail and to consider why capitalist production rules out a planned, balanced development of the economy.

The modern national economy is a very complex organism the functioning of which requires balanced relations between the volume of production in the various branches and spheres of economic development.

Let us take, for instance, the mining industry. Like any other industry, it cannot exist in isolation, without links with other branches and spheres of economic activity. To extract iron ore, one needs equipment produced by the engineering industry. This equipment cannot function without energy (electricity, fuel). The ore must be transported to iron and steel works. So railway lines, good waggons and locomotives are necessary, as well as storehouses, and equipment for loading and unloading, etc. Finally, all these machines and equipment can only be set in motion by people, and people can only work if they have food, clothing, houses, etc.

So the mining industry, like any other industry, is closely connected with many other branches of the economy.

Increasing *specialisation* leads to a still greater interdependence between enterprises. In order to produce a car, for instance, dozens of enterprises have *to co-operate*. One plant produces the engine, another the electrical equipment, still another, glass, and so on. If the first plant produces 10,000 engines a year, and the second only 2,000 sets of electrical equipment, then 8,000 engines will be redundant. Only *co-*

ordination and balance between all branches of production can avoid chaos in the economy.

Being independent, small commodity producers and capitalists act in an isolated way, at their own risk and on their own account. Certainly, the owner of the enterprise decides what and how much will be produced at his factory. *But in capitalist society at large planned organisation does not exist.* It cannot exist because production is based on private ownership of the means of production.

Nobody knows beforehand how many enterprises will be engaged in the production of the same commodities, how many commodities will be produced in one year or two, how much people will buy, etc. Mr. A. has no guarantee that Mr. B. and Mr. C. will not start producing the commodity he puts out. All of them are independent masters, and if, say, transistor radios are in great demand they might all begin to produce them. So what happens in a year or two when the market is flooded with transistors? The economically weaker employer will have to close down his enterprise, dismiss his workers, and invest his capital in some other business.

Thus, the existence of the private ownership of the means of production inevitably leads to spontaneous development, causes anarchy of production, the absence of organisation in capitalist economy as a whole. No matter how efficiently a capitalist employer may organise production, he remains the slave of the market because of the operation of the economic laws of capitalism.

The anarchy of capitalist production is aggra-

vated by *competition*—the bitter struggle between capitalists for more advantageous conditions of production and sale, the struggle for higher profits.

Any means are used: undercutting, boycott, preventing competitors from obtaining raw materials, refusal of transport, industrial espionage and even sabotage against the rival enterprises.

Capitalist production is based on selfishness. Each employer puts before anything else his own interests, and he who owns the means of production possesses not only economic, but also political strength. The ruling class in capitalist society directly or indirectly controls all bodies of power: police, army, courts, jails and so on. These bodies are the political power, the machine for suppressing the exploited classes. *The capitalist state is an instrument of class domination.*

It is true that the capitalist state, especially in recent decades, has increasingly interfered in the course of economic development. Yet, no matter how great this interference in national economic life, the state cannot eliminate the anarchy of capitalist production, because it cannot eliminate the private ownership of the means of production. On the contrary, the capitalist state is supposed to defend private property—the basis of the capitalist mode of production.

The Law of Value—an Economic Law of Commodity Production

It has been mentioned that it is necessary to maintain a balanced development of the nation-

al economy. Production cannot develop without such balance. How are the different branches of industry and the national economy as a whole balanced under capitalism, if competition and anarchy of production prevail?

The law of value acts as the regulator of capitalist production. This economic law manifests itself primarily in the fact that *the exchange of commodities is effected in accordance with the amount of socially necessary labour expended on their production.*

Producers exchange different use-values on the market. For example, the peasant exchanges two centners of manioca for ten metres of cloth. Manioca and cloth are different use-values. Yet this correlation between two centners of manioca and ten metres of cloth is no mere chance. It expresses *an equality of the values* of these commodities. In other words, it shows that the peasant expended the same amount of labour on the production of manioca as the weaver expended on the making of cloth. How much to give—two, three or five centners of manioca in exchange for ten metres of cloth is important to the peasant. He knows very well how much labour he spent on each kilo of manioca. He will not barter six centners of manioca for ten metres of cloth if he had to expend three times as much labour to produce six centners of manioca as the weaver expended to make ten metres of cloth. Naturally, the weaver is no fool either and can count the expenditures of his labour. Although he needs two centners of manioca he will give only ten metres of cloth in exchange, not fifteen or twenty.

Neither producer can afford to give away part

of his product because a non-equivalent exchange would not compensate him for the expenditure of his labour, and he would not be able to continue production.

Thus, *exchange of commodities in accordance with the amount of socially necessary labour expended on their production is an objective economic law of commodity production, and does not depend on the will and desire of the commodity producers.*

Our exampe is one of direct barter of manioca for cloth between two commodity producers. Direct exchange can be met with even now in some regions of Africa. However, with the development of the social division of labour, the range and volume of products designed for exchange have increased. Gradually the most marketable commodities have assumed the role of *universal equivalent,* i.e., acting as a medium in various exchange operations. A universal equivalent was an economic necessity. This is quite understandable, because direct exchange is only possible when the two parties each have the commodity the other needs.

With the development of exchange, people began to barter their goods for a commodity which everyone would want. With such a commodity, a universal equivalent at his disposal, the commodity producer could then buy any other commodity. At first, a variety of articles, cattle, salt, copper, iron, etc., played the role of universal equivalent. Later, the precious metals, silver and gold, took on this role. So *money* appeared. Money fulfils many functions in the economy based on commodity production. One of the most fundamental functions of money is to serve as a mea-

sure of value for all other commodities. *Under commodity production the value of all commodities is measured in money.* With the appearance of money, people stopped measuring the value of a commodity, for instance, two centners of manioca, in terms of another commodity (ten metres of cloth). People began to say that one kilo of manioca costs so many francs, dollars, shillings, etc. *The value of a commodity expressed in money is its price.*

In the market the buyer does not ask the seller: "How many hours of socially necessary time did you put into making your goods?" The buyer is interested first of all in the price of a commodity. Maybe, the value of a commodity is determined not by labour, but by its price? At first sight this seems to be confirmed by the fact that prices of the same commodities often vary, although the socially necessary time to produce them remains the same.

Let us try to gain an insight into this phenomenon. This will help convince us that value is the basis of price, that price is only the monetary expression of value. In other words, *price depends primarily on value.*

Experience shows that price is in direct proportion to value, other conditions being equal. The greater the amount of labour expended on producing a commodity, the greater its value and the higher its price.

On the other hand, as labour productivity rises, the value of commodities decreases. With the decrease in the value of commodities, prices should also decrease. And conversely, a decrease in labour productivity leads to an increase in

because society does not need so much of it. On the other hand, the production of articles whose prices, due to the excess of demand over supply, are above their value should be expanded.

So the law of value acts as a regulator of production under capitalism in this spontaneous way.

The operation of the law of value stimulates technological progress. The producers begin to use more progressive means of production in order to reduce production costs and increase profits. Producers are impelled to introduce technical innovations, to raise production to the average level to survive, and above the average level for higher profits.

The introduction of new machinery and advanced technology makes it possible for enterprises to reduce the labour-time expended per unit commodity, to bring it down to the socially necessary level. The desire to close the gap between the socially necessary and individual labour-time expenditures is a major impetus for technological progress under capitalism.

And finally, the law of value has important social consequences in agriculture.

The operation of the law of value ruins small commodity production. Small landowners are impoverished and forced off the land to become hired labourers, while big landowners become capitalist farmers.

This process was thoroughly analysed by Lenin in his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.* He wrote: "The further the penetration of commodity production into crop cultivation, and, consequently, the keener the competition among the agriculturists, the struggle for

land and for economic independence, the more vigorously must this law be manifested, a law which leads to the ousting of the middle and poor peasants by the peasant bourgeoisie."

It follows that under capitalism the law of value is a blind destructive force causing imbalance, anarchy of production, competition, ruination of small producers by big ones, class differentiation, exploitation of man by man and injustice.

What Is Capitalist Exploitation?

Capitalism is not the first socio-economic system based on the exploitation of man by man.

But capitalist exploitation is a special form of exploitation. Pre-capitalist forms of exploitation were based on direct, non-economic coercion, while capitalist exploitation is effected through commodity-money relations, by the exploitation of hired labour. A profound understanding of the causes, the nature and the motive force of capitalist exploitation is vital for success in the working people's struggle against capitalist exploitation. It is all the more important to uncover the "mystery" of capitalist wage slavery since capitalist exploitation is the most refined and best camouflaged form of exploitation.

Let us take slavery for example. Slaves were often chained to their tools and whipped to make them work. The master owned both the slave and the product of his labour.

Feudalism was also undisguised exploitation. Here the basic means of production, the land, belonged to the feudal lord. The peasant and ar-

tisan were forced to till the land for the lord (labour rent) or turn over part of their produce (rent in kind).

The situation under capitalism is different. The capitalist does not chain the worker to his tools or force him to work at his factory. It would seem that the worker agrees to work for the capitalist of his own free will, and the capitalist poses as a benefactor who "provides"the worker and his family with the means of subsistence. This is what the relations of capitalist exploitation look like on the surface. But what is the real state of affairs?

The worker is no longer personally dependent; he does not belong to and cannot be forced to work for any one capitalist. But the worker has neither the means of production nor the means of subsistence and is forced to work for the capitalist. In slave-owning and feudal societies labour discipline was the discipline of the stick and whip, under capitalism, it is the discipline of hunger. What appears to be free labour is actually forced labour with hunger for a whip.

In pre-capitalist societies labour power was not a commodity, the worker himself was the exploiter's property. It is only under capitalism that labour power can be bought and sold, i.e., it becomes a commodity. *Labour power as a commodity* has the basic properties of a commodity: value and use-value.

Under capitalism labour power has a certain value. A man can only continue to work if certain vital requirements are taken care of. He must earn enough to keep body and soul together. He must have enough to eat, to wear, to maintain his family, etc. *The value of labour po-*

wer is equal to the value of the means of subsistence for the worker and his family.

Labour power under capitalism also has its *use-value*. In fact, it is very "useful"for the capitalist since it is the source of his riches. In buying labour power the capitalist obtains a unique commodity, a commodity which is capable of producing *surplus value*.

Having bought labour power the capitalist joins it to the means of production: the wage worker takes his place at the bench and the production process begins.

In the process of capitalist production use-value is created and value increased. The capitalist sees to it that greater value is created in the process of production than the capital advanced. The production of use-values is only a means of attaining his aim. His aim is *the production and appropriation of surplus value*.

Labour power and means of production play different roles in the process of creating new values. *Labour power produces new value,* the means of production, as such, do not. As the means of production wear out, *their value is transferred* to the newly manufactured commodity by the labour of the workers. If a machine is operated for ten years, and its value depreciates by ten per cent a year, this ten per cent is added to the value of the newly produced commodity. The depreciation of factory buildings is added to the value of the commodity in the same way, so is the total value of raw materials that go into the product. Let us take an example.

Suppose a capitalist owns a clothing factory. To make clothes he needs sewing machines, fabrics, trimmings and labour power. He is going

to make 500 suits. He buys 1,500 yards of woollen cloth, at 10 dollars a yard, for a total of 15,000 dollars. He spends 10 dollars per suit on trimmings, a total of 5,000. The production of 500 suits entails depreciation of the sewing machines and other expenses (lighting, heating, etc.) to the sum of 5,000 dollars. Labour (500 workers, each receiving 2 dollars a day) costs 1,000 dollars.

Thus the capitalist has acquired all the elements essential for production. His total expenditure on 500 suits is as follows:

Cost of cloth	15,000 dollars
Cost of trimmings	5,000 dollars
Cost of depreciation	5,000 dollars
Cost of labour power	1,000 dollars
Total	26,000 dollars

The cost per suit is 52 dollars. The capitalist discovers that similar suits are sold on the market at 52 dollars each, which means that he, too, has to sell his suits at this price. It follows that the capitalist has laid out 26,000 dollars on production, and, when he sells the suits, he gets back the same 26,000. There is no profit in that. It doesn't pay him to be in business unless surplus value is created.

How is surplus value produced? Karl Marx proved that surplus value is created in the process of consumption of a specific commodity, labour power. The value of labour power is equal to the value of the means of subsistence of the worker and his family while the use-value of labour power is expressed in the labour expended by the worker in the process of production. The secret of surplus value lies in the diffe-

rence between the value of labour power and the value the worker creates when he uses his labour power.

Marx wrote: "The daily or weekly *value* of the labour power is quite distinct from the daily or weekly *exercise* of that power, the same as the food a horse wants and the time it can carry the horseman are quite distinct. The quality of labour by which the *value* of the workman's labour power is limited forms by no means a limit to the quantity of labour which his labour power is apt to perform."

In other words, the worker works for himself only part of the working day, during which time he reproduces the value of his labour power. The remainder of the working day is devoted to producing surplus value, for the benefit of the capitalist. *Thus surplus value is the value created by wage workers over and above the value of their labour power and appropriated by the capitalist who owns the means of production.*

Although the worker produces the value of his labour power in only a part of the working day, the capitalist has the use of his labour power for the whole working day. That is why the capitalist is interested in having him work a maximum working day so that the worker will spend more time and labour creating surplus value.

Suppose the worker reproduces the value of his labour power in 4 hours, while the capitalist makes him work for 8 hours. Let us go back to our clothing foctory. In 8 hours the same 500 workers will sew twice as much fabric, use up twice as much of the means of production and double their output, i.e., make 1,000 suits instead of 500. What would the capitalist's expenditure be?

Cost of cloth	30,000 dollars
Cost of trimmings	10,000 dollars
Cost of depreciation	10,000 dollars
Cost of labour power	1,000 dollars
Total	51,000 dollars

In an 8-hour working day the workers have made 1,000 suits. Their sale on the market (at 52 dollars each) will bring in 52,000 dollars, though he only spent 51,000 dollars. The amount originally laid out has grown by a thousand dollars. This sum is surplus value. It is part of the workers' labour which is not paid for. Consequently surplus value is the result of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalists.

Under capitalism the working day falls into *necessary labour time* when the worker produces value equal to the value of his labour power, and *surplus labour time* when he produces surplus value for the capitalist. The more time the worker expends on himself, the less he expends for the capitalist, and vice versa. Capitalist exploitation is not eliminated if the capitalist pays to the worker the full value of the labour power expended during the necessary labour time, since he appropriates the surplus value created during the surplus labour time.

The production and appropriation of surplus value is the aim and motive force of capitalist production, the basic law of capitalism.

However, certain Western economists still assert that capital was originally accumulated by the industry and thrift of its owners. According to them, thrifty people gradually became capitalists, while idlers and spendthrifts turned into wage workers. Karl Marx exposed this fable de-

signed to deceive the naive. In reality, capital was created by plunder, violence, the theft of land from peasants and the pillage of colonies.

But for the sake of argument, let us assume, that capital was originally created by its owner's own labour, that he has saved 100,000 dollars earned by honest work. The proprietor spends part of his capital on the means of production and another part to pay hired workers. Let us assume that the workers produce 20,000 dollars of surplus value a year, and that the capitalist spends the whole of that sum on himself. In that case the capitalist would spend 100,000 dollars in five years, using up the sum total of the initial capital.

In reality, however, five years later the capitalist still has the same 100,000 dollars (or more). So by exploiting hired workers' labour power the capitalist is able to consume 20,000 dollars a year, and still keep his initial capital intact. In other words, in five years he has spent his original capital, and acquired 100,000 dollars of capitalised surplus value, i.e., a 100,000-dollar accumulation of wage workers' unpaid labour. So every capital is a result of exploitation.

A sum of money, no matter how large, or means of production—land, factories, raw materials, fuel, machines—are not capital in themselves. They become capital only under certain conditions: when they are the private property of a class of owners and used for the exploitation of the working class. Thus *capital is value which is used for the exploitation of wage labour to produce surplus value. In other words capital is the social relationship between capitalists and workers, whose essence is exploitation of labour.*

The amount of surplus value appropriated by capitalists grows with the development of productive forces. The capitalist becomes capable of expanding production, of exploiting greater numbers of workers and appropriating a larger amount of surplus value. Immense wealth is accumulated at one pole of the society, the luxury and parasitism of the exploiter classes grow immeasurably, while at the opposite pole, the exploitation of workers is mounting and the situation of the creators of this wealth is getting steadily worse. This is the *law of capitalist accumulation.*

This process has been described in many literary works. Here is how H. Scherfig depicts capitalist Ulmus and his ilk in the novel, *Bogus Occitanus of the Eight-Eyed Scorpion:* "Money flowed to the businessman in an unceasing stream. Though he never handled anything heavier than his cigar, he made enough to buy his daily bread and whisky, cars and motor boats, race horses and girls. Multitudes of people worked everywhere lifting much more bulky objects and moving huge weights; but should they even double their efforts, they would never get as much money in a month as Ulmus made in one day quietly sitting in one place."

In order to make more profit, businessmen endeavour to expand their production. Small workshops with primitive machinery are replaced by vast plants and factories where thousands and tens of thousands of workers are employed in many trades. Division of labour is increasing, both with regard to branches of production and among the workers at enterprises. Individual

enterprises and whole industries become increasingly dependent on one another.

Let us, for example, look at the Peugeot car, often seen on African roads. Vast numbers of people have worked on each car. If each of the parts could speak the languages of its makers, the car would be a veritable tower of Babel. These would speak the many African languages of the iron, zinc and copper miners, the languages of Malay labourers toiling on plantations that produce the rubber for tyres, etc., and thousands of French workers have laboured to stamp and paint the body, to make engine components, to weave and sew the upholstery.

But it is the small group who own the means of production, the handful of Peugeot plant owners, who benefit from this labour of many lands.

In other words, capitalist production is increasingly *social,* while all industrial enterprises and the land and its mineral wealth are privately owned. The results of social labour are appropriated by individual capitalists. The development of productive forces is accompanied by an aggravation of the contradictions between the social nature of production and the private capitalist take-over of the results. *This is the basic contradiction of capitalism.* It reflects the contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production in capitalist society. While steadily socialising production, capitalism is putting more obstacles in the way of the development of society's productive forces. These obstacles can only be removed if capitalist owner ship of the means of production is replaced by socialist ownership.

What Is Imperialism?

Capitalism is a concentration of every conceivable form of exploitation. It is rightly called a social system of exploiters, and not only because it is based on exploitation of man by man. National oppression is an inherent part of capitalism, i.e., political, economic and social subjugation of other less developed smaller nations within the same state by a dominant nationality. Capitalism is inconceivable without racial exploitation, the exploitation of the labour of women and children, the labour of scientists, engineers, artists, etc.

On the threshold of the 20th century, when advanced countries in the West had built a material and technical base that was adequate for capitalism (a large-scale machine industry), capitalism developed into *imperialism*. This period saw the emergence of another appalling form of capitalist exploitation—the economic plunder, political enslavement and cultural deprivation of colonial countries by the imperialist bourgeoisie in the metropolitan states.

There are *five basic features* of 20th century imperialism which distinguish it from 19th century capitalism.

The first feature is the *transformation of free competition into monopoly* through concentration of production and capital. Competition between monopolies does not disappear; on the contrary, it is growing and aggravating all the contradictions of capitalism. Monopoly steps up exploitation; the oppression of the people by a few monopolists is increased hundredfold.

The second feature is the merging of bank ca-

pital with industrial capital and the *formation of finance capital.* Banks, which used to be modest intermediaries for payments and clearance, become all-powerful monopolists with control over almost all money capital, and the greater part of the means of production and sources of raw materials. A handful of big bankers and finance magnates, a financial oligarchy, controls all economic and political institutions of capitalist society.

The third feature is the ascendancy of the export of capital over the export of commodities. The export of commodities was characteristic of pre-imperialist capitalism. But the monopolistic position of the richest countries boosted capital accumulation to such an extent that *"surplus" capital began to be exported* to other countries and colonies where raw materials and labour power were cheap, resulting in fabulously high profits.

The fourth feature is the *division of the world* between international monopoly alliances. Powerful cartels, trusts and syndicates divide the world market between them, establish "spheres of influence" and form international cartels. The struggle for markets and sources of raw materials between groups of capitalists is extremely acute.

The fifth feature of imperialism is the struggle between imperialist powers for a *redivision of the world.* Imperialism sharply intensified the struggle between capitalist states for colonies. Territorial division of the world between the great powers was completed by the beginning of the 20th century. There were no more "free" territories available. Territory could only be

acquired by taking it away from previous owners.

The essence of imperialism was first analysed from the Marxist point of view by Lenin in his book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916). Lenin defined imperialism as "capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

Lenin came to the conclusion that imperialism is the threshold of the socialist revolution. Imperialism means tremendous socialisation of production, while appropriation is left to private ownership. To resolve this contradiction, to destroy the capitalist relations which retard the development of productive forces, private ownership must be replaced by socialist ownership.

The development of imperialism has led to an international *capitalist division of labour, a system of unequal economic ties between capitalist countries resulting from the capitalist mode of production.*

Uneven development of the capitalist countries, some developing more rapidly than others, is a typical feature of imperialism.

The distribution of the productive forces in the capitalist world is extremely uneven. Seven countries (the United States, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada) with only a quarter of the capitalist world's population, produce 82 per cent of its

industrial output. They own numerous industrial concerns built in other countries with exported capital. When overseas enterprises are taken into account, these seven countries are the actual owners of the productive forces which produce 85-90 per cent of the industrial output of the capitalist world.

The distribution of the production of producer goods, the means of production, is particulary uneven. The developing countries have only 3.2 per cent of the capitalist world total engineering plants, and most of these are either repair shops or assembly shops where parts manufactured in advanced capitalist countries are assembled.

The world capitalist economy of today is in effect an economy of several hundred monopolies. The real masters of the world capitalist economy are a very narrow circle, some five thousand joint-stock companies and enterprises, united in several hundred corporations. They control at least 45 per cent of the world capitalist production. Nearly 30 per cent of the total output is in the hands of 200 leading corporations.

"Finance capital," Lenin wrote, "took over as the typical 'lord' of the world; it is particularly mobile and flexible, particularly interknit at home and internationally, and particularly impersonal and divorced from production proper; it lends itself to concentration with particular ease, and has been concentrated to an unusual degree already, so that literally a few hundred multimillionaires and millionaires control the destiny of the world."

Economic and political relations in the capitalist world are not based on co-operation but on

the domination of stronger countries over weaker ones.

The world capitalist economy has emerged as a system of international exploitation of the newly liberated and colonial countries by the imperialist powers.

The question that arises is: *will the developing African countries be able to overcome their economic backwardness within the world capitalist economy?*

The monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to keep the newly-free and dependent countries in the position of a "world village" serving the "world town," the few advanced capitalist countries. The monopolies would like to perpetuate this situation because the unequal exchange of raw materials for finished goods is very profitable to them.

The monopolies do not want the developing countries to set up their own manufacturing industry. By exporting goods to the developing countries monopoly capital is undermining the foundations of their economic development. The monopolies use economic and political pressure to force African countries into narrow specialisation to encourage a lop-sided development of their economy.

It is virtually impossible for an African country to catch up economically with the advanced capitalist powers while it remains part of the world capitalist system. *No African state can solve its economic problems while it remains the object of imperialist exploitation and develops along the capitalist path.*

It is true that after winning political independence most African countries were able to in-

crease their rate of economic development somewhat. However, the gap between the levels of economic development of African countries and the imperialist states, far from narrowing, continues to grow wider. In their efforts to attain economic and social progress African nations inevitably come to the conclusion that imperialism is the chief foe of equitable and fruitful cooperation between nations, that mutual assistance between free and equal peoples is the only way the development of productive forces can be effectively accelerated. The capitalist way of development is incapable of stepping up the rate of econimic progress in African countries.

Why Is Capitalism Unacceptable for Africa?

African nations are putting up resolute resistance to imperialism and neo-colonialism. Many young African states fighting against imperialist exploitation are trying to by-pass the stage of capitalist development. More and more African statesmen and politicians are realising there are more effective ways of economic development than the capitalist way.

Capitalism cannot guarantee rapid, planned economic development. It took the advanced capitalist countries over 200 years to attain their high level of industrial development. The peoples of Africa cannot afford to wait that long; they have to solve their economic problems over a short period.

The capitalist path of development means accepting the role of the "world village," with unbalanced one-crop specialisation, turning out farm produce and raw materials for the advanced

capitalist countries. The capitalist way of development makes it easy to invest foreign capital in the economy of African countries with all the deplorable consequences such as intent competition with local production, interference in the home affairs of African states, political intrigues and plottings, economic and political instability, etc.

The capitalist way of development is inseparable from anarchy of production and economic crises. Planned, harmonious development is incompatible with capitalist economy. Under capitalism, economic development has its ups and downs—a crisis, depression, activisation, a boom, another crisis, and so on. Capitalist economy is tied up with the world capitalist market and its economic laws in thousands of ways. When the price of tin begins to drop, thousands of Nigerian miners are thrown out of work; when a recession sets in in advanced capitalist countries, they cut down their purchases of African raw materials.

Capitalism is a system of exploitation of man by man. What difference does it make for an African worker if the European exploiter is replaced by an African? It would only mean that "home-grown" exploitation had taken over, while in essence there would be no difference—the overwhelming majority of people would go on toiling for a handful of rich people. In the exploiters' society there is no place for humanism, the development of the individual or freedom. Buying and selling and making profits is the main objective in life.

As capitalist relations develop the antagonisms between the classes of exploiters and exploited

inevitably increase. The workers' fate is to work their fingers to the bone for the capitalists or to join the dismal ranks of the jobless. Capitalist development in the countryside ruins the peasantry. The petty bourgeoisie get swallowed up in the ruthless competitive fight with big capital. Capitalism intensifies social inequality.

The benefits of education, science and culture are only for the rich under capitalism; they are beyond the reach of the majority. Intellectuals are forced to sell their abilities.

Not only does capitalism cause and sharpen contradictions between the capitalists and the workers, it also engenders economic and political rivalry within the exploiter class. While fighting together against the working people the exploiters wrangle among themselves for a bigger slice of the national pie and for cushy jobs in the state administration. *Capitalism rules out the political unity of a nation* which is essential for rapid economic progress and for protection against encroachments on its sovereignty by aggressive powers.

Capitalism was a progressive form of national development at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries when it was laying the foundations for big machine industries. In the 20th century a new social system emerged which has proved its unquestioned superiority in a historically short period. Socialism is the modern road of nations towards economic and social progress, towards freedom and happiness.

During the lifetime of one generation, a backward nation can become a country with advanced industry, science and culture. That is why today more peoples are taking *the socialist road.*

Chapter IV

HOW THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IS ACHIEVED

What Is Socialism?

The socialist system is based on public ownership of the means of production. Socialism does away with the contradiction between ownership and labour under capitalism for good, by making both the means of production and the fruits of labour public property. Socialist ownership precludes the use of the means of production to exploit other people's labour. As a result, relations of production become relations of fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance.

There are two forms of ownership of the means of production under socialism: *national* ownership (or state ownership) and *co-operative* ownership (in the Soviet Union this is ownership by collective farms and co-operatives).

State-owned property is the predominant form of ownership under socialism. In the Soviet Union this includes the land, natural resources, forests, industrial enterprises, railways, water and air transport, banks, communications, state farms, most of the living accommodation in towns, trade and public catering establishments, etc.

Co-operative collective-farm property has emerged in the USSR as a result of socialisation

by the peasants of the means of production (draught animals and farm implements and certain types of outbuildings). While the state enterprises and the products they put out belong to the whole society, co-operative collective-farm property and collective-farm produce belong to the group of peasants—a collective farm. The exception is the land—this is national, state property which has been handed over to collective farms for use in perpetuity.

The modern means of agricultural production as co-operative collective-farm property have been created not solely by collective farmers but with considerable assistance from the state and the whole socialist society. The state builds factories to manufacture agricultural machinery, develops irrigation projects and sets up and maintains educational and research institutions to train agricultural specialists and handle agricultural research, e. g., developing new effective crop varieties and cattle breeds, etc. Co-operative collective-farm property is thus approaching the status of national property and it serves the interests of the whole community.

It is sometimes alleged that there is no ownership under socialism. This is not true. While socialism rules out the capitalist form of ownership of the means of production as the main cause of exploitation, it does not exclude public ownership or personal property.

Under socialism the entire social product is the property of the nation and is placed at its disposal.

Part of the national income goes into public consumption funds (education, health services, social security, etc.) which are distributed to the

members of socialist society irrespective of the amount of work done. The portion distributed in the form of wages (paid according to the quantity and quality of the work) becomes the personal property of the individual.

Personal property under socialism means ownership of things for the personal use of the worker or his family. This includes a house for the family, a car, furniture, clothing, household goods and other personal effects.

The collective farmer's holding is his personal property. A member of a collective farm usually has a house, barns, a cow, sheep, pigs, poultry and farm implements for cultivating his small holding.

Soviet laws protect personal property. But socialist society cannot allow personal property to be used to exploit the labour of other people. Under Soviet law it is an offense to seek to gain by speculating and profiteering at the expense of society or individuals. Anyone may buy a car for his personal use. But no individual may own a taxi depot. A person may build a house with many rooms for himself and his family, but he may not own houses in order to rent them out and collect unearned income. No matter how wealthy a person may become, neither he, nor anyone else in a socialist society is allowed to own a factory, a mill or a farm.

In other words, *under socialism personal property cannot be turned into capital, into a means of exploitation.* Under socialism, personal property comes from earned income and savings, and its growth depends on the growth of public property, on higher productivity of social labour.

The aim of socialist society is to create an

abundance of material and spiritual benefits for all its members, and the only way to attain this goal is to raise steadily the level of productive forces.

It would be naïve to present socialism as a system solely characterised by the absence of private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of man by man. There was no private ownership or exploitation under the primitive-communal system either. This, however, was "primitive communism" where labour productivity was extremely low and man was barely able to eke out an existence.

Productive forces in socialist society present large-scale mechanised production in all branches of the economy based on the latest technological achievements and the labour of people free of exploitation. A high technical level, rapid pace of development and constant technical progress are the basic features of productive forces under socialism.

Socialist ownership of the means of production offers unprecedented opportunities for the development of productive forces. In the words of Karl Marx, socialism ushers in days worth twenty years each. The following figures show how long it took the Soviet Union to turn out in the late 1960s as much as tsarist Russia produced in all of 1913:

electric power	2 days
steel	19 days
oil	18 days
coal	20 days
rolled stock	21 days
iron ore and light industry goods	24 days
foodstuffs	33 days

The comparison between Soviet and pre-revolutionary economic levels may lead some people to the assumption that socialist economy is only capable of making a big "leap" from backwardness after which the rate of economic development is bound to slow down in conditions of more advanced socialism. Speculations of this sort can easily be refuted by the actual state of affairs in the socialist countries, particularly in the Soviet Union. In 1970, the gross social product in the Soviet Union was eight times that in 1940, while industrial output showed a ninefold and agricultural production a 22-fold increase from 1940 to 1970. During the same period, labour productivity rose fivefold in industry and tripled in agriculture.

The historical experience of the socialist countries proves that the development of socialism and socialist economy passes through the following stages: the period of *transition* from capitalism to socialism, the period when socialism scores complete and ultimate victory in all spheres of social life, and the period of mature or *advanced socialism*. The Soviet Union is described today as a country of advanced socialism. It should be stressed, however, that the rate of its economic development at this stage continues to be sufficiently high.

The Soviet Union is carrying out its ninth five-year (1971-75) economic development plan. To get an idea of the growth rates fixed for the current five-year period, let us compare production output per minute of working time in 1970 with that to be attained in 1975.

Production	1970	1975
Electricity, mln kwh	1.4	2.0
Steel, ton	221	276
Cement, ton	181	276
Oil, ton	671	932
Mineral fertilizers, ton	105	171

The rates of economic development under socialism by far outstrip the rates in the advanced capitalist countries.

As was cited for the sake of comparison at the 24th CPSU Congress (1971), to double industrial output it took 18 years in the USA, 22 years in Britain, over 11 years in West Germany and 8.5 years in the Soviet Union.

Lenin stressed that a large-scale machine industry capable of reorganising agriculture could be the only material basis of socialism. The basic principle of socialism—to each according to his work—cannot be observed, nor can there be a high standard of living without an efficient economy, advanced industry and agriculture.

The transference of the basic means of production into the hands of the people *paves the way for planned and balanced development of the national economy.* It ensures economic and organisational unity of the national economy and centralised management; in other words, a country's economy can develop according to a pre-set plan. *Planned development of the economy is a great advantage of socialism over capitalism.* Socialism unites the disjointed work of individuals into the collective force of society.

The nature of labour is radically changed in a society where public ownership of the means of

production predominates. Under socialism labour is no longer the heavy burden and ignoble servitude it is under capitalism.

In the course of socialist construction the comradely co-operation and mutual assistance of people free from exploitation engenders *a new attitude to work*. Labour based on the free and conscientious discipline of workers united by the common goal of building a new society becomes a matter of honour for every working man. Under socialism *work is the duty of all,* and society goes by the principle: he who does not work shall not eat. It is every man's duty to work for the good of society and to receive remuneration from society according to the quantity and quality of his labour. There is no unemployment under socialism.

Under socialism, *the state* directs the development of the productive forces and the production relations, organises production and effects distribution and exchange of the social product.

The socialist state is the world's first state of working people. It expresses the interests of those who create material values, who by their efforts ensure the existence and development of socialist society. In carrying out its economic functions, the socialist state enjoys the full support of the masses and draws the people into economic activity.

Taking account of the economic laws of socialism, the state plans economic and cultural development and mobilises the efforts of the working people to implement these plans. It also determines the rate and the basic proportions at which the branches of the economy will develop as well as the amount, pattern and trend of capital

investments. It draws up the budget, controls expenditure, and distributes the national income, determining the level of accumulation and consumption. The state has a decisive say with regard to wage policy and prices.

Socialism changes the *social pattern of society.* Socialist society consists of two classes—the workers and the peasants, and a social stratum, the intelligentsia. *The working class* plays the leading role in society by virtue of its economic position, since it is connected with the most advanced form of ownership, public ownership. The working class is well organised; it is the exponent of the most progressive social ideals.

The peasantry, formerly a class of small producers scattered over tiny land holdings, are united in large collective farms which use modern agricultural machinery.

Under socialism *intellectuals* come from the ranks of the workers and peasants. They are well aware of the needs of the working people and serve the interests of all the people.

Socialism puts an end to class hierarchy due to disparity in relationship to the means of production. Both classes and the intelligentsia in the new society have equal rights to the means of production, the state, and political power. Public ownership ends social antagonisms and rallies all social classes and groups in one community with common aims and interests.

Social and political unity is an important advantage of socialist society over capitalist society.

Bourgeois ideologists go to great pains in the attempts to slander the socialist system. They used to claim that socialism suppressed the individual and destroyed initiative. However, suc-

cesses in building socialism forced them to change their tactics. Now they admit that socialism is able to develop productive forces rapidly, to ensure a high standard of living; that socialism has outstripped capitalism in leading branches of science, education and culture. But all this, they allege, has been achieved by immense sacrifices and hardships, by the suppression of the individual, democracy and humanism.

Reality refutes these assertions. The experience of socialist construction is patent proof that socialism ensures real emancipation of the individual.

Capital suppresses the individual. Money reduces human relations to cold calculation. Exploitation creates insurmountable obstacles for the development of the individual, for creative activity of the masses. Capitalist encourages individualism, egoism and anti-social attitudes in the privileged classes.

Under capitalism the forced nature of labour alienates man from the means of production and fruits of his labour. Man has no opportunity to develop his abilities freely; he is doomed to physical exhaustion and spiritual stagnation.

If the individual is to be free, it is necessary to change the shackling social relations. Emancipation of the working masses brings with it the emancipation of the individual. When private ownership of the means of production is abolished, productive labour ceases to be an object of exploitation and becomes a means of liberating people. Socialism gives everyone the opportunity for all-round development of physical and mental abilities. The great humanism of the socialist system lies in *the main goal of socialist produc-*

tion: the constant expansion and improvement of social production on the basis of advanced technology and collective labour in order to fully meet the growing material and intellectual requirements of the members of society.

Lenin said: "Socialism alone will make possible the wide expansion of social production and distribution on scientific lines and their actual subordination to the aim of easing the lives of the working people and of improving their welfare as much as possible."

Man and his needs is the chief concern of socialist society. This is real humanism, humanism for all, and not just a select few.

Socialism is inconceivable without democracy. *Socialist democracy* is a new type of democracy, a democracy for all the people. Socialism broadens the concept of democracy, and adds many social rights and privileges to the political rights of working people.

Socialist society not only proclaims the democratic rights of citizens but also guarantees their realisation. For example, the Constitution of the USSR guarantees all Soviet citizens the right to work and to rest, free education, old-age pensions, sick pay and allowances for disability or the loss of a breadwinner. State funds guarantee that every citizen has a real opportunity to exercise these rights when needed. The rapid economic progress of the socialist state has made this possible.

In socialist countries freedom of speech, the press, assembly and meeting, processions and demonstrations is guaranteed in the Constitution. The law guarantees personal immunity, inviolability of the home and privacy of personal cor-

respondence. Liberty of conscience, which includes freedom of religious worship, is recognised for all citizens.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, political and cultural life. They have the same right to work, rest, education and wages. The state protects mother and child, and gives special help to mothers with many children and unmarried mothers, and paid leave for working mothers before and after childbirth. The state has set up an extensive network of maternity homes, women's consultation centres, nurseries, kindergartens and other services to help mothers and housewives.

Citizens of socialist countries enjoy universal, direct and equal franchise by secret ballot, without restrictions. All citizens participate in running the state and enjoy equal rights in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country regardless of sex, nationality, race or religious belief.

The Need for a Transition Period

Socialist society does not grow by magic. *It has to be built.*

The construction of socialism constitutes an entire historical period known as the *transition period.* Every country that takes the socialist road must go through a transition period.

The socialist revolution does not inherit ready-made socialist economic relations: such relations cannot take shape under capitalism. The socialist revolution must evolve new economic forms,

and ensure the establishment and development of socialist relations.

The economy of the transition period transcends the borders of the capitalist mode of production, though it is not yet socialist. It may include many economic sectors and relationships.

The economic set-up in the transition period may vary with the actual historical situation in the country which has taken the socialist road. For every country there are three main types of economy: socialist, small-commodity and capitalist production. There may also be patriarchal peasant economy (natural economy) and state capitalism.

The socialist type of national economy is established by socialising the means of production.

The first step of working people who have gained power is to obtain control of the key branches of the national economy by nationalisation, in other words the state must confiscate the property of the exploiting classes and turn it into public property. Nationalisation restores historic justice, for the property of the exploiting class was created by many generations of working people, and nationalisation merely returns the means of production to those who created them.

Socialist nationalisation of the means of production ends the economic rule of capital and so resolves the main contradiction of capitalism, that between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation. In taking over the means of production the working people become the masters of their country.

Nationalisation creates a basically new type of economy—the socialist sector which assumes the

main role in the economy of the transition period.

The small-commodity sector includes peasant holdings, artisans and small independent producers who work on their own. In countries with a low level of industry the majority of the population are involved in small-commodity production at the beginning of the transition period.

The capitalist sector consists of enterprises based on private ownership of the means of production and wage labour. In the countryside it is represented by the village bourgeoisie and in the towns by the owners of small or medium-size enterprises which have not been nationalised. The socialist state gradually restricts the capitalist sector, controlling production, marketing, and labour conditions at private enterprises: the policy is to do away with it altogether and replace it completely with the socialist sector. Thus the task of the transition period is to develop the socialist sector, eliminate the capitalist sector and transform small-commodity production into a socialist form of economy (state or co-operative).

In order to build a socialist society it is essential to define the main tasks of the transition period correctly and to find the most effective means of fulfilling them. It is necessary to elaborate a scientifically substantiated *plan for building socialism*. The first plan of this kind was elaborated in Soviet Russia by Lenin.

Lenin's plan for building socialism outlined three general tasks for the transition period: socialist industrialisation, reconstruction of agriculture on a collective basis and the cultural revolution.

Industrialisation is the only way to supply all

branches of the economy with modern equipment, to raise labour productivity and improve the standard of living rapidly. It also helps to solve another difficult problem of the transition period—the *socialist transformation* of small peasant holdings into large publicly owned farms. Industry alone can supply agriculture with modern technical facilities. The farmers then see the advantages of running the farms collectively and having the benefit of tractors, combines and other farm machines, and voluntarily form production co-operatives.

The cultural revolution is essential for building socialism, a source of spiritual enrichment of the working people. Combined with industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture, it paves the way for building socialism.

Led by the Communist Party, the working people of the Soviet Union realised Lenin's plan of socialist construction within a short period. It took less than 15 years for an agrarian country to become a major industrial power. In 1937, the USSR was first in Europe and second in the world for industrial output. The collectivisation of agriculture ousted the last remaining exploiting class, the kulaks. A new intelligentsia appeared; the nationalities question was settled giving rise to friendship among the numerous peoples of the Soviet Union.

The common interests of all Soviet people led to their socio-political and ideological unity.

Such are the main features of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The forms of this transition may vary according to the level of capitalist development in a given country. The Soviet Union's experience of socialist

construction indicates that the specific features of the transition period may vary even within one country. The construction of socialism in the Soviet Central Asian republics is a good example.

Within the Lifetime of One Generation

At the time of the socialist revolution the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan were at the pre-capitalist stage of development.

The overwhelming majority of people in Russia's outlying districts were peasants and cattle-breeders. Many of them had no land of their own and worked on the fields of feudal lords.

Except for a few cotton ginneries and mines there was virtually no industry. The peoples in these non-Russian areas suffered the oppression of the tsarist regime and of their local feudal aristocracy.

Most of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan did not have a written language of their own; almost the whole population was illiterate. Only the rich had access to medical aid, and frequent epidemics took countless lives.

How did the peoples of Russia's outlying districts break the fetters of social backwardness and achieve great economic and cultural progress within the lifespan of a single generation?

The socialist transformations in the former outlying provinces of Russia prove that *the socialist revolution can be victorious in backward countries if the national-liberation movement is merged with the working-class movement.*

Since in what are now the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, 90 per cent of the popula-

tion were peasants, Peasants' Soviets were established there in the course of the revolution. The Russian proletariat helped the working people in these areas in every way possible to set up a new social system. They helped to win over millions of peasants to socialism. Thus *the absence or a relatively small contingent of the proletariat in the Soviet Central Asian republics was no obstacle to socialist changes.*

Socialism proclaimed equality and self-determination of nations, the right to form independent states, to have the native tongue as the state language and to conduct state affairs through elected representatives.

However, socialist emancipation of formerly oppressed nations was impossible without changing pre-capitalist and capitalist forms of economy. The remnants of pre-capitalist and capitalist relations had to be done away with in order to end the exploitation of backward peoples. A land reform was launched in the backward national provinces with the advent of Soviet power. The lands of the tsarist vicegerents and local feudal lords were handed over to poor peasants. This *removed the economic basis of exploitation* of the poor by feudal rulers loyal to the tsar who, after the revolution, actively participated in anti-Soviet plots and risings.

The eradication of social injustice and of the economic domination of the local nobility was not yet the end of capitalism. Further steps had to be taken to preclude a resurgence of a national bourgeoisie in the countryside—the amalgamation of small private holdings into a large-scale collective agricultural economy based on common ownership of the means of production.

Collectivisation in the national regions proceeded at a slower pace than in central Russia. Various forms of co-operatives were tried. For instance, production co-operatives of the collective-farm type were, in many areas, preceded by supply and marketing co-operatives and farming associations. More advanced forms of co-operation were only adopted when the farmers became convinced of their advantages.

The national republics were supported and aided by the Russian proletariat and all the Soviet peoples in their reconstruction of agriculture along socialist lines. The other republics sent experienced organisers and specialists to these areas and supplied them with tractors, lorries, combine harvesters and other farm machinery.

The growing industrialisation in the Soviet Union created greater opportunities for developing modern engineering industries in the national republics. Since industrial development in the national republics proceeded at a faster rate than in more advanced parts of Russia, *the economies of various regions gradually levelled up.*

Far-reaching socio-economic changes in the national areas were accompanied by a cultural revolution. Many national minorities developed their own written language. Illiteracy was soon a thing of the past, and many, many schools, colleges and institutes were opened.

Let us take a look at Kazakhstan for example. Some sociologists have estimated that under capitalism it would have taken a country like Kazakhstan some 4,500 years to catch up with the advanced nations.

The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic now has

almost all branches of modern industry. It produces coal, non-ferrous and rare metals, iron ore and oil. Its plants and factories put out iron, steel, mineral fertilizers, rolling mills, excavators, automatic presses, X-ray equipment, electric capacitors, mining equipment, reinforced concrete and a great variety of chemicals.

The other Central Asian Soviet republics—Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tadjikistan and Kirghizia—have also made rapid progress.

In the Soviet national republics, the processes of non-capitalist development and socialist construction took place simultaneously within the only socialist state, where the proletariat was in power, where the socialist transformation was directed by the proletarian Communist Party. The question arises: can the capitalist stage of development be by-passed and a socialist society built in countries which have no proletariat and, consequently, no proletarian parties?

Historical experience does not prove it impossible. In Mongolia, for example, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution of 1921 triumphed although there was no working class or national bourgeoisie, and pre-capitalist relations predominated. The poor peasantry, led by a revolutionary party, was the motive force of the Mongolian revolution. This revolution successfully traversed the general democratic, non-capitalist stage of development (1921-40) and the socialist stage which began in 1940.

Today Mongolia is a modern socialist state and more than two-thirds of its population are engaged in industry. Illiteracy, which was rife half a century ago, has been wiped out completely. The country has a far-flung network of pri-

mary and secondary schools, and colleges. There are a University and an Academy of Sciences in the capital, Ulan-Bator. Considerable headway has been made in crop and animal farming: by 1959, these major branches had been reorganised along socialist lines.

The Mongolian revolution, although it had its own distinctive features, due to specific national and historical conditions, has a universal significance in that it provides yet another proof of the possibility for a backward, formerly feudal country to build socialism without passing through the capitalist stage.

Mongolia was supported by the working class of the Soviet Union, its closest neighbour, and the entire working-class and communist movement. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which had an entirely peasant membership in the first decades after the revolution, assimilated and creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary working-class doctrine. As a result, it was able to proceed to socialist construction proper in the 1940s, after fulfilling the main tasks of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution. Today, Mongolia is completing the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism.

One can say with a good measure of confidence that what has been achieved by Mongolia is practicable for socialist-oriented African countries, especially if one remembers that many of these countries are more developed socially and economically than Mongolia was in 1921. Moreover, there is now more than one socialist country to turn to for support: the world socialist system now unites a third of the world population.

This will certainly accelerate the African countries' advance along the road which Mongolia travelled.

Some important conclusions can be drawn from the historical experience of the Mongolian People's Republic. First, Mongolia did not achieve socialism all at once. It proceeded to building socialism after a series of inevitable preliminary stages. Second, the MPR was helped by other socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, which was, until the end of the Second World War, the only socialist state. Third, Mongolia's People's Revolutionary Party with its Marxist-Leninist ideological and theoretical basis was able to mobilise and guide the masses.

Africa and the Non-Capitalist Way of Development

In our time the remnants of the former colonial empires are disappearing in the flames of national-liberation revolutions. The disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism which began after the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia is being completed.

The national-liberation movement at this stage is characterised not so much by expansion, since most colonial peoples have won independence, as by the intensification of the anti-imperialist, non-capitalist and democratic nature of national-liberation revolutions.

An outstanding feature of the national-liberation revolutions of today is the fact that the struggle for strengthening national sovereignty and for social progress is combined ever more

closely with the struggle for non-capitalist development, for socialism. *The struggle for social emancipation is becoming a practical issue* in many newly liberated countries. The Arab Republic of Egypt, Algeria, the People's Republic of the Congo, Guinea and other countries in Africa have officially announced a socialist course. This significant fact of our time means the rejection of capitalism as an anti-human social system and testifies to the immense attraction and popularity of socialist ideas among African peoples.

Africa is searching for ways of socio-economic development. It is natural that advanced African intellectuals should seek to benefit by the experience of countries that have by-passed the capitalist stage. African scholars are well aware of the common features in the history and starting positions of those countries and the African states—a low level of productive forces, the predominance of pre-capitalist economic relations, the harsh consequences of foreign rule, low living standards, the absence or relatively small size of their proletariat and proletarian parties, etc. At the same time they are definitely conscious of certain major advantages in the internal and international position of the newly independent African states, which greatly help them overcome difficulties in the way of non-capitalist development.

One of the main features of non-capitalist development in Africa is that it actually starts from pre-capitalist formations or from underdeveloped capitalism.

The African peoples are familiar with capitalism in its crudest, most undisguised forms.

Even in the remotest parts of Africa, where most of the population are illiterate, people know very well what imperialist plunder and exploitation means. For broad masses of the African population capitalism, colonialism and imperialism spell ruthless exploitation, suppression of human individuality, systematic violence and pillage. Slavish devotion to private property, for example, is not so strong in Africa as it is in Europe. These factors make it easier for the African peoples to start out on the non-capitalist road.

Capitalism has not grown such deep roots on African soil for specific historical reasons. It has not created well-developed productive forces or numerous industrial proletariat here, like in Western Europe and North America.

Well-organised and politically conscious, the working class is a powerful social force capable of bringing about radical socio-economic changes. The absence or weakness of the working class is responsible for the slow growth of anti-imperialist democratic political parties capable of playing a leading part in the struggle for socio-political transformation of African society. On the other hand, the national bourgeoisie is not strong in Africa, and some countries have no bourgeoisie at all, which makes the historical mission of the African working class somewhat easier.

Despite its small numerical strength, the working class is growing faster than any other class in African society, making for a favourable balance of forces within these countries. The political significance of the working class, for whom the national-liberation revolution is of vital importance, is growing steadily.

For the most part, Africa inherited pre-capitalist production from the long years of colonial rule. The forms of socialisation employed by Soviet Russia and other countries which set out to build socialism are not applicable for many African countries, particularly the countries in tropical Africa. After the revolution Soviet Russia was able to nationalise transport, banks, and large and medium industry. This is impossible in many African countries where the colonialists have not built a single modern factory. That is why the state sector in African countries has to be created mostly by building new industrial enterprises. This requires considerable capital investment. On the other hand, by setting up new industrial establishments and employing the latest scientific and technical developments, the newly independent countries are able to boost industrial production to medium world standards.

The absence of heavy and manufacturing industries is a negative factor which cannot be rectified in a year or two. But the state can reduce the time required by planning economic development and concentrating all material and labour resources in the most important branches.

A favourable factor for Africa's rapid economic development is the availability of external sources for financing economic development. The Soviet Union had no such opportunity after the revolution when the imperialist powers organised the economic blockade. The existence of the socialist camp makes an imperialist economic blockade of African countries impossible. African states are making extensive use of the economic and technical aid, credits and

loans granted by socialist countries. Important industrial and hydroelectric projects, such as the Aswan High Dam, are going up on the African continent with the help of the socialist camp. Thousands of African students are being trained in the socialist countries, and experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and other socialist countries are working in Africa.

Young African states can get credit and equipment from imperialist countries on more or less acceptable terms. This only became possible in the last decade when the rapid economic development of the socialist countries cut short the imperialist monopoly in this field.

Until the mid-fifties the imperialists had free reign to set exorbitant interest rates on loans or to impose shackling political conditions for supplying equipment, etc. That is, until the socialist countries became strong enough to afford loans and technical assistance to the developing countries. Now African peoples are able to choose between what is offered and what is really needed for their economic development, without sacrificing their national interests and sovereignty. This is another positive factor of African development.

Thus both domestic and international conditions favour the struggle of the newly free nations for the non-capitalist, and then the socialist road of social and economic development. The world socialist system, which accounts for about 40 per cent of world industrial output, is promoting Africa's economic and social progress.

Socialist ideals have to be fought for. Favour-

able opportunities for building a socialist society in African countries while by-passing the capitalist stage have not yet been fully realised. The tasks of the national-liberation revolutions have not yet been fulfilled. The struggle against foreign oppression and exploitation of man by man is growing into the struggle for social emancipation, for socialism.

When speaking about conditions necessary for effecting the transition to socialism in African countries, the state sector should receive special attention. The state sector is the subject of heated debate both in African countries and outside them.

The State Sector in African Economy

The past decade saw the emergence of state sectors in the economies of many newly-free countries. The building of new enterprises is no easy thing for a young African state which is short of finance, means, specialists, etc. And all the greater is the nation's rejoicing when it succeeds, despite all difficulties, in completing a project. The opening ceremony then turns into a nation-wide festival and the newly inaugurated enterprise is looked upon as a symbol of national pride and sovereignty.

Nationalisation is another way of developing the state sector. In a number of African countries the governments have nationalised some enterprises, natural resources, insurance, companies, banks and credit organisations which belong-

ed to former colonialists. This was done in agreement with the logic and law. After all, according to Marxist political economy, the capital of these foreign companies had long been depreciated, in other words, their owners had, during the years of colonial rule, gained profits hundreds of times the size of the capital they invested.

The imperialist states and monopolies resort to all sorts of political and economic blackmail, and even overt intervention under the plea of "protecting" their property on the African continent.

African governments are often forced to use political pressure or take steps to restrict the activity of foreign monopolies. Several decrees to this effect were made by the Nigerian government in 1972 as a result of which the state gained control of a considerable share in oil production and in a large motor works. In 1970, the Zambian government took over the controlling share of the joint-stock mining companies in the Copper Belt.

The state sector is making rapid progress in Guinea, Algeria, Egypt, Somalia, Tanzania and certain other African countries. The existence of the state sector, and the socialist orientation in the case of some African countries make a more effective state control possible over the economy, better economic planning and more rational utilisation of the available resources.

Thus, by building new enterprises and nationalising some foreign companies, the overwhelming majority of African countries are developing their *state economic sectors both quantitatively and qualitatively.*

Naturally enough, the role and share of the

state sector, as well as its correlations with other sectors (foreign capital and local national bourgeoisie) vary from country to country. With all the variations, however, one notices a tendency common to most African countries: *the enhancement of the state's role in the economy and the development of the state* sector. That this tendency has taken root can be explained by a number of domestic and external factors. The former are basic and decisive and so deserve first mention.

One of the general contradictions of modern African economy is between the objective necessity of economic development and the extremely low level of the productive forces inherited from the none-too-remote colonial past.

The desire to break the shackles of economic backwardness and dependence prompts many African countries to develop the state sector. In building new state enterprises or nationalising foreign companies, the African governments are seeking to restrict, if only in a limited way, the domination of foreign capital. Therefore in most cases, the state sector has an anti-imperialist quality and is spearheaded against the imperialist monopolies.

On the other hand, by developing the state sector, the African countries are striving for more equitable economic relations in the international division of labour.

The African states are out to develop industry which will alter the face of their economy and bring about radical social and technological changes on a nation-wide scale. This sort of task can only be tackled by the state and the state

sector of the economy. It is only when the state takes a hand in managing all aspects of the economy that it becomes possible to concentrate the country's limited resources to speed up industrialisation and raise labour productivity.

Here we come to another important African economic problem, the problem of *accumulation*. The African countries have to face a rather serious question: how to collect the money to finance industrialisation and economic development in general? Surely, foreign assistance can be drawn upon. Another source is to exact a certain sum from the incomes of the more privileged classes, in particular, the local bourgeoisie. On closer consideration, however, it becomes clear that none of these sources provides the solution. The state is thus faced with the necessity of establishing the state sector in various branches of the economy (industry, agriculture, transport, insurance and banks, etc.), since by relying on the state sector it will ensure stable returns which can be channeled to help solve other outstanding problems of economic development.

When speaking about the role of the state sector in the country's economic life, one cannot overlook the fact that in most African countries spontaneity prevails in economic development. Many extensive economic plans are adopted but few are really implemented. Difficulties in economic planning can be explained, among other things, by the dominance of the private capitalist element and the relative weakness of the state sector. The issue of the state sector is inseparable from the question of effective *planning*. Economic planning can only be turned into an effec-

tive instrument of social and economic progress on the basis of the state sector.

There are certain external factors which greatly influence the development of the state sector.

The scientific and technological revolution which is rapidly developing throughout the world affects all branches of the economy—industry, transport, agriculture, etc., ushering in more sophisticated machinery and progressive production techniques. To keep in step with scientific and technological progress it is necessary to develop the state sector, since local private capital is not equal to the task. Meanwhile, the technical level and labour productivity are factors of no small importance in Africa's drive to overcome economic backwardness.

This is when the problem of *economic co-operation* between neighbouring African countries or between whole regions comes into plain view. Inter-governmental agreements and co-operation in building state enterprises present the most effective form of such co-operation.

And finally, the development of the state sector in African economies is inevitably influenced to an appreciable extent by the very existence of two world systems—socialism and capitalism. Today the national bourgeoisie is no longer free to choose the ways of resolving fundamental economic problems. The African peoples are attracted to socialism, and many Africans justly believe that the development of the state sector, other conditions being the same, can provide the material conditions for switching over to a higher stage of socio-economic development, to socialism.

We have already discussed the main factors responsible for the emergence and development of the state sector in the African economy. It is true that almost in all parts of the continent one can see modern factories built by the state, and hear the humming of powerful motors of sophisticated machines which are breaking the traditional silence of the African village. But the problem of the state sector is something more than the introduction of technical innovations. What matters particularly is whose class interests the state sector serves and what benefits it can give to the ordinary working folk in the towns and villages.

In the countries which have taken the capitalist path, for instance, the nature of the state sector is rather contradictory.

On the one hand, the *national bourgeoisie* is seeking to have the state and the state sector protect its interests from the all-powerful imperialist monopolies. A certain section of the African entrepreneurs and businessmen even welcome some progress in a state sector which provides them with products and services at profitable prices, ensures a steady flow of orders, etc. So it seems logical for the national bourgeoisie, especially if it is economically and politically not very strong, to advocate the development of the state sector.

As we saw earlier, one of the reasons why the national bourgeoisie should support the state sector is the fact that it helps them in their struggle with the imperialist monopolies.

Here one can easily discern a fairly distinct

anti-imperialist trend in the aspirations of the rising African bourgeoisie.

At the same time, another process can be often observed in the same countries. As their positions grow stronger, the national bourgeoisie begin to press the state harder and harder for grants and subsidies (out of the state budget, of course). They also insist on participation in the state sector in the form of "mixed companies" and try to get control over the state sector. In some African countries, the local bourgeoisie are even demanding the transfer of some state enterprises to the private sector.

And one cannot ignore such a common phenomenon as the emergence of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie in a number of African countries. Abuse of office and corruption at state enterprises lead to the enrichment of individual elements at the expense of the nation. The African *nouveaux riches,* who have made fabulous fortunes on graft and commercial and financial machinations, are investing what belongs to the nation in the private sector (hotels, repair shops, taxis, trade, etc.). Of course, the state sector as such is not to blame for the emergence of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The situation is the result of inadequate control by the working people and their organisations and by the government itself.

The state sector plays a much more progressive and decisive role in the economy of the socialist-oriented countries. Foreign capital has been forced to surrender many of the key positions to the state sector which is beginning to play quite a part in vitally important areas of the economy of some of these countries, for instance, in industries producing goods for export, in

the financial and credit system, foreign trade, etc.

The development of a state sector which has a democratic basis and socialist orientation is of vital interest to *all working people.*

For the working class, the state sector holds out prospects of an increase in their numbers and influence in the country's socio-political life, more stable employment, a reduction in unemployment, growth of professional skills, etc.

The working peasantry, who make up the majority of the African population, are also interested in the development of the state sector. Agricultural state farms provide a model of modern efficient farming. They can supply the farmers with seeds for more productive crop varieties and with the best cattle breeds. Organisation to help the peasants have been established in many African countries. In the sphere of trade, buying and selling, state agencies have been set up. The farmer can now sell a definite part of his produce to the state at fixed prices. Nor are the peasantry indifferent to the development of state industrial enterprises because they hope to receive modern farm implements, foodstuffs, clothing, building materials, chemical fertilizers, etc. from them.

The common interest of the workers and peasants in the development of the state sector is one of the pillars on which the close alliance of these classes rests, an alliance essential for the successful struggle of the African peoples for economic independence and social progress.

The revolutionary *intelligentsia* also expect much from the state sector which they regard,

and with good reason, as the material basis for socialist changes.

As a matter of fact, socialist prospects in Africa largely depend on which of the two main tendencies prevails in the evolution of the state sector: whether the state turns into a "night guard" of the private capitalist sector after the fashion of the imperialist states, or whether it takes the lead in the country's economy to pave the way to social progress and socialism.

Chapter V

SOCIALIST DOCTRINES AND MARXISM IN AFRICA

The Development of Socio-Economic Thought in African Countries

Colonialism, which ruthlessly crushed all manifestations of national culture in Africa, was doing its utmost to make people forget the indisputable fact that at certain periods prior to European colonisation, social thought in some African regions (for instance, Northern Africa) had been on a level with Western Europe.

Some bourgeois economists and sociologists continue to deny the existence of social thought in the African countries. Assertions of this sort betray a high-handed, contemptuous and even racist attitude to what is taking place in the newly independent countries. One can also hear comments about the exclusive nature of African civilisation, including the social ideas.

Doubtlessly, resurgent African social thought has many national features. A mirror of the material conditions of life and the national-liberation movement, it is bound to reflect the nature of African social and economic problems. National cultures and traditions, colonial rule, and religious and national outlooks have left distinct traces on African social thought.

There are diverse social doctrines in Africa,

expressing the interests of different social classes and sections. Whereas in one group of African countries, these doctrines are backed by the desire of the revolutionary democrats and other political parties and associations to lead their peoples onto the path of socialist development, another, rather extensive group is dominated by politicians who use socialist phrases and socialist doctrine to camouflage the reactionary nature of their social theory and practice.

The presence of two opposing socio-economic systems, with socialist economic development and planning on one side and the practice of state-monopoly capitalism on the other, and the bitter struggle between them have a noticeable effect on the shaping of African economic thought. This influence is responsible for its eclecticism which consists in partial adoption of methods and theoretical conceptions borrowed from the theory and practice of socialist construction combined with the application of theories and practice typical of the economic activity of a capitalist state.

As the number and variety of African social ideas increase bourgeois scholars are trying to sort them out, and each is using his own yardstick. The French sociologist, L. V. Tomas, proposes the following classification: ideology of the French-speaking countries of Black Africa, ideology of the English-speaking countries of Black Africa and ideology of the countries of "White" Africa. [1]

One can easily see that this classification is based on characteristics like the language imposed

[1] L. V. Tomas. *Le socialisme et l'Afrique*. Paris, 1967.

on the country by the colonialists, the colour of the skin, and religion. To be sure, the specific features of French and British colonialism, the Islamic religion and Arab civilisation have had some bearing on the resurgent social thought in African countries. But these influences can by no means be regarded as decisive.

An analysis of the class content of African social doctrines is complicated by the lack of a clear demarcation line between the classes (the formation of classes is not complete yet), and by the instability and rapid evolution of African economic thought. But one thing is clear: the development of the national-liberation movement is accompanied by a polarisation among politicians and theorists who only recently made up a single anti-imperialist camp and, expressing the general national interests of the African peoples, had the essentially homogeneous ideology of the oppressed nation. Having started from the common position of African nationalism, many political leaders and economists underwent drastic evolution in the national-liberation movement.

Several trends expressing the interests of different social classes and sections have taken shape in the modern African social thought although on the face of it, it may appear fairly homogeneous. As a matter of fact, most African social conceptions are characterised, not only by socialist wording but by an anti-imperialist orientation, and also by the fact that they all recognise the role of the state sector and the need for economic planning and economic co-operation. But the methods proposed for resolving the problems depend on the class content of the expected results.

When we speak about the petty bourgeoisie we do not mean a section of the middle class which is a shade "smaller" than the middle or big bourgeoisie. By the petty bourgeoisie Lenin meant something different. What is meant here is above all the small owner (peasant, artisan, small tradesman) who, while possessing the means of production, does not systematically employ hired labour, in other words, does not exploit other people.

Petty-bourgeois ideologists oppose colonialism and imperialism and sharply criticise the local bourgeoisie. A typical representative of petty-bourgeois ideology is F. Fanon whose views have a considerable influence on many African politicians and theorists. F. Fanon contends that the African national bourgeoisie is doomed because it is unable to carry out the historical role which was played by the West European bourgeoisie during the period of developing capitalism. According to him, it is playing a reactionary role. And he explains it by the fact that, because of its economic weakness, the overwhelming majority of the African bourgeoisie cannot apply their capital in the sphere of production and therefore engage exclusively in commercial operations. Moreover, it has no time to grow into the kind of bourgeoisie that is capable of changing the existing economic and social structure. And finally, it often has recourse to anti-democratic methods to preserve its political domination. [1]

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[1] F. Fanon. *Les damnés de la Terre.* Paris, 1961.

Many African petty-bourgeois theorists speak in favour of socialism. But what they advocate is in effect a new version of utopian socialism. Exponents of this trend in many Arab countries in Africa are trying to adapt socialism to Islam and consequently give a religious touch to their doctrines, counterposing idealist method to the materialist outlook of scientific socialism. The influence of nationalist ideology is likewise very strong in this trend.

Inherent in this trend, like in any other petty-bourgeois doctrine, are the fear and renunciation of the class struggle, the denial of the leading role of the working class and idealisation of the peasantry and intelligentsia. Marxists have long defined their attitude to petty-bourgeois theories and their authors. They criticise their negative aspects and endeavour to help them develop their positive qualities. As Lenin said, the point in question is not the struggle against the petty bourgeoisie and its theorists, but the struggle *to win over the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat*. This fundamental directive is as valid today as it was in Lenin's day.

The views of authors who express the interests of *the African patriarchal-communal peasantry* are very much akin to the petty-bourgeois views.

There are of course certain differences, and there are objective reasons for them. In our opinion, all the African peasantry cannot be regarded as petty bourgeois by nature. There is a considerable section, particularly in the countries south of the Sakhara, who have been only slightly affected by commodity-money relations and who still preserve, to this day, the communal forms of land ownership. As regards the petty

bourgeoisie, they are mainly to be found in agriculture in the Arab countries of Northern Africa and also among the small tradesmen, artisans and lower-rank officials in the towns. Although very alike, the petty-bourgeois and the patriarchal-communal peasantry are by no means the same.

The ideologists of the patriarchal-communal peasantry champion communal, not petty-bourgeois ownership. The anti-capitalist tendency is more pronounced in their doctrines than in the views of petty-bourgeois ideologists and therefore more often than not they progress towards scientific socialism more rapidly than petty-bourgeois authors of so-called national socialism.

Ideology of the Local Bourgeoisie

The ideology of the local African bourgeoisie has a special place in African social thought. After independence, the conditions in many African countries were more favourable to the development of local private capital. As the African bourgeoisie developed, its ideology was taking shape, reflecting various trends current in the bourgeois class. Here one finds the views of ideologists representing the agricultural, commercial and bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Although the African bourgeoisie only made its appearance quite recently, its theorists have created, during the last decade, a great motley of new schools.

One group of ideologists are openly advocating a "liberal economy." The majority of this group, however, are trying to tone down and ca-

mouflage their capitalist sympathies.

The ruling party of the Republic of Zaire, for instance, formally renounces both communism and capitalism, proclaiming "genuine nationalism" to be the political doctrine of the party and the state.

But perhaps the most numerous group is represented by the exponents of so-called specific, particularly national, African socialism, some of whom advocate the idea of "African socialism" (Tom Mboya of Kenia and Bede Onuoha of Nigeria) while others preach "Malagasy socialism" (Jaques Rabemanajara of Madagascar), or "Arab socialism," etc.

Presenting outwardly a variegated picture, all these trends have one common feature: active championship of the capitalist way of development for Africa with some adaptation of the bourgeois theories to the specifics of the present day and the national-liberation revolution.

Dumoga Ji. of Ghana, for instance, who is known as a rabid anti-communist, evaluates so-called Kenian socialism as "very moderate" and says that it can even be regarded as capitalism. [1]

The French magazine, *Temps Modernes,* carried an article, "Madagascar from Capitalist Colonialism to Neo-Capitalist Capitalism," in which a conclusion is made to the effect that "Malagasy socialism" has in the long run made the positions of capitalism (notably foreign capitalism) still stronger in Madagascar. "Under the cover of Malagasy socialism and the newly acquired national independence," the magazine wrote, "the colonial system has grown stronger remaining

[1] Dumoga Ji. *Africa between East and West.* 1969, p. 30.

practically what it was before." [1]

The ideology of the African national bourgeoisie has much in common with modern bourgeois doctrines current in the advanced capitalist countries. An idealistic approach to social phenomena characterises most representatives of this ideology. S. Biobaku of Nigeria, for instance, defines socialism as the purpose of community, [2] while his compatriot Bede Onuoha contends that socialism is the thinking of solidarity, brotherhood, co-operation and accommodation [3] and that traditional African society has been built on intellectual principles. [4] The late Kenian minister Tom Mboya, the victim of a terrorist act, wrote that by "African socialism" he meant those established rules of African society which had for centuries ensured dignity and safety to the people irrespective of their walks of life. [5]

Pragmatism is also typical of this trend. According to Tom Mboya, African socialism means practice without theory. [6] The Malagasy minister, Jaques Rabemananjara, spoke of socialism as essentially pragmatic. [7]

Trying to speak from "supra-class" positions, representatives of this trend often abstract themselves from the relations of production and reduce social and economic problems to purely

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[1] *Temps Modernes.* Paris, 1969, No. 28, p. 34.
[2] *Colloque sur les politiques de developement et les diverses voies africaines vers le socialisme,* Paris, 1963, p. 35.
[3] Bede Onuoha. *The Elements of African Socialism.* London, 1965, p. 123.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 35.
[5] I. Cox. *Socialist Ideas in Africa.* London, 1966, p. 35.
[6] T. Mboya. *Freedom and After.* London, 1964, p. 168.
[7] *Colloque sur les politique...* p. 275.

technical level (lack of capital and personnel, the introduction of modern methods of economic management, the use of certain methods in drafting plans, etc.). Some support the theory that the two social systems are converging and de-ideologisation is taking place.

Denying the necessity of radical revolutionary changes these ideologists call for partial reforms, for slow evolution of the economy. In his speech at the colloquium on the problems of socialism held in Dakar, the Tunisian representative, Shakar, advocated "flexible evolutionary movement," [1] while Jaques Rabemananjara claimed that radical solutions were incompatible with Malagasy temperament. [2]

Anti-communism is a basic quality of present-day reactionary bourgeois ideology and is practised by some African bourgeois ideologists whose anti-communist attitudes come mostly from the arsenal of West European and American theorists and consist in counterposing so-called democratic socialism to scientific socialism and in denying the existence of the class struggle or classes. African bourgeois ideologists claim that scientific socialism with its materialist outlook is not acceptable for the "African lyrical soul." They allege that Marxists are against any kind of property. Some even go as far as invent stories about "socialist neo-colonialism."

Representing the interests of the African bourgeoisie this trend is basically not very different from other bourgeois trends, although there are distinctions arising from the specific nature of

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[1] *Colloque sur les politique...* p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

the African bourgeoisie—their place in the world capitalist system and their economic weakness and immaturity, bureaucratic character, etc.

Having taken an active part in the national-liberation movement the African bourgeoisie cannot discard the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial slogans altogether. Surely, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism are not identical with anti-capitalism. If representatives of African bourgeois thought criticise imperialism, this criticism reflects the conflict between the African bourgeoisie, who are not strong as yet, and their more powerful rivals, the monopoly capitalists. If they reject some bourgeois economic theories, this signifies a forced recognition of the fact that *the mechanism of economic control in capitalist countries is unsuitable for African economy.* Nationalist tendencies make themselves felt in this trend when anti-imperialist criticism gives way to narrow nationalist ideas. On closer inspection, however, one can easily see the bourgeois nature of these ideas hidden behind the "socialist" slogans of "economic development," "progress," "justice," etc.

In considering the question of correlation of the state and private sectors and their role in the economy, they give priority to the private sector. They allege that state enterprises cannot be "profitable" (in the capitalist sense of the word!) and assign them a secondary, subsidiary role.

Moreover, the authors of these theories tell private investors not to be afraid of the word "socialism," and prove their point by quoting the Investment Code which guarantees safety of private capital investments.

Under the plea of raising profitability, the ad-

vocates of "national socialism" have lately been advancing on the co-operative and state sector.

Naturally enough, such theories and social policies meet with the full approval, primarily, of the young local bourgeoisie who are no longer scared by the socialist phrases of some African politicians.

So some authors have adopted socialist phrases for purely tactical reasons. It is both tribute to the "fashion" and an attempt to mobilise the masses, by social demagoguery, to achieve the class aims of the national bourgeoisie. The thesis that Africa is a continent of socialist traditions is really a refusal to carry out far-reaching social changes. In contrast to other trends, ideologists of the African bourgeoisie do not accept the principles of Marxist theory and practice, they merely try to use some of them in their own interests, for instance, the teachings on the role of the political party and the state in the economic process, the use of planning techniques, etc.

Some theories of "national socialism" make an absolute of the African specifics, supplanting national by nationalist. In effect, representatives of this trend are trying to pass off their theories as some sort of alternative to scientific socialism. That is why one should not make too much of certain positive aspects of present-day bourgeois social thought in Africa, and much less look for truly revolutionary elements in it. Whereas in domestic and foreign policy, the activity of the national bourgeoisie has quite a few progressive qualities, the reactionary essence of bourgeois doctrines manifests itself increasingly in their ideology, particularly in social thought.

To conclude our brief analysis of the ideology

of the African bourgeoisie it will be relevant to draw the reader's attention to the growing inner contradictions inside this trend of African social thought.

As was shown above, representatives of this ideology, while claiming to be original and leaning on "African exclusiveness" in their theories, actually borrow their basic arguments from the arsenal of West European bourgeois ideologists.

While in theory they are advocating a "new society" in practice they often rely on feudal elements and archaic structures.

African bourgeois ideologists and politicians are looking West to the imperialist countries for their theories, but in practice, contradictions between the weak local bourgeoisie and the powerful capitalist monopolies become ever more pronounced.

And finally, the attempts to mobilise the popular masses of Africa with demagogic "socialist" slogans first meet with inertia from the working people, which then turns into resistance, since the real aims pursued by the bearers of these slogans are irreconcilable with the basic interests of the African peoples.

Revolutionary Democracy—a New Phenomenon

A prominent role in the development of African thought is played by socialist doctrines of *national democrats*—Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sékou Touré, Houari Boumediène, Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Modibo Keita and others. A notable fact about these doctrines is that they are not only expounded in the works and speeches of their

advocates but are actually used as underlying principles of party programmes and documents of mass political organisations. This trend is influencing the whole course of development of African social and economic thought. It would be wrong to believe that with the fall of progressive political regimes in some countries, the revolutionary influence of their ideas on African social development has ended.

The ideas of national democrats have been reflected in the trade union movement in Africa, which is seen, for instance, from the documents of influential trade union organisations like the National Union of the Working People of Algeria, the Moroccan Labour Union, and the trade union centres of Guinea, the Sudan, Nigeria, etc.

The ideology and practical activity of revolutionary democracy are an example of partial combination of Marxism with the revolutionary-democratic movement in Africa. Since they personify the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the semi-proletarian and middle sections, the revolutionary democrats champion the interests not only of the small owner who works himself but also the basic interests of the working peasants, including communal peasants, workers and the revolutionary section of the intellectuals. This is why in many African countries the official press, the radio and political literature have become the vehicles of ideas of scientific socialism. Many revolutionary parties are also working along this line.

Over a very short period of time (10-15 years), the views and ideas of the national-democratic theorists and politicians have undergone a radical evolution towards scientific socialism. In the

first years after the independence, many representatives of this trend either differed very little from other petty-bourgeois nationalists or, as they later confessed, had not yet developed a more or less definite ideology. In the 1962 Tripoly programme of the Algerian National Liberation Front, socialist ideas and the demand to limit the ownership of land (to 600 hectares) were combined with the promise of favourable conditions for foreign capital investments and free transfer of capital. The same programme stipulated that the manufacturing and light industries were to remain in the private sector.[1] In April 1964, the First Congress of the Algerian National Liberation Front adopted a new programme, the Algerian Charter,[2] in which socialist ideas took the lead.

The views of the late Gamal Abdel Nasser on the Arab Socialist Union of which he was the head, underwent rapid and radical evolution. Anti-British nationalism was typical of the Free Officers Movement to which he belonged in the 1940-50s, and Pan-Arabism was the keynote idea of his book, *Philosophy of the Revolution*, written in 1954.

In an interview given in 1955, Nasser said: "As regards doctrine, we have not quite identified ourselves with any. We are living through a period of formation."

In his last years his ideas differed markedly from the mid-50s.

The position of the Democratic Party of Guinea is undergoing substantial changes. In the

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[1] *L'Afrique et l'Asie*. Paris, 1964, No. 66, p. 26.
[2] *La Charte d'Alger*. Algeria, 1964, p. 176.

first years after the independence, the Party posed the question concerning the ways of national development in a somewhat abstract light, confining itself to slogans of democracy and progress. Little by little, however, the Guinean leaders came to realise the need for a non-capitalist way of development. Views on this score were already voiced in 1958 [1] but an official statement was made somewhat later, in December 1962, at the Fourth Congress of the Party, when the Guinean leaders emphasised their belief in the "inevitability of socialisation of human society," pointing out that their experience "presents a new attempt of socialist development in conditions of an agrarian country." [2] The report of the Party's National Political Bureau read in part: "Our path is non-capitalist and it will remain such, for it is the only way of protecting the interests of the whole of society and of fully ridding every individual of the injustice which characterises any relations of exploitation of man by man." [3]

The rapid evolution of the views of many African theorists and politicians is largely due to the progress of the national-liberation revolution. Objective necessity prompts genuine revolutionaries, which formerly held different views, to adopt, if only partially to begin with, the ideas of the only scientific theory, scientific socialism.

Despite certain differences in the views of national democrats, their basic ideas form a rather distinct trend in African social thought. This is

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[1] **Sékou Touré.** *Independent Guinea,* Moscow, 1960, p. 102, **Russ. Ed.**
[2] *Haroya.* December 28, 1962.
[3] *Ibid.*

manifested above all in the similarity of methods and in their approach to social phenomena. An essential quality of this trend is the extensive application of the Marxist method of analysis and the adoption of some Marxist-Leninist principles. In one of his books, Sékou Touré deals with the Marxian theory of surplus value, discussing commodity production and commodity and its properties, and defines wages as a monetary expression of the value of labour power. [1]

Striving for far-reaching revolutionary changes and repudiation of partial reforms are characteristic of the method of revolutionary-democratic thought. It is stressed in the Charter of the Arab Socialist Union that the revolution is the only possibility for the Arab nation to break the shackles and overcome the grave leftovers of the past. [2]

Most representatives of the national-revolutionary trend do not put the specific features of the African continent in the fore, but try to apply in a reasonable way the general tendencies of social development to the actual conditions in their countries and to draw on the experience of the socialist countries. Thus Seydou Badian of Mali says that there is no reason for inventing socialism in the 20th century since a general theory already exists which has been tried in the practice of socialist construction in many countries. [3] Sékou Touré comments that in carrying out one or another undertaking, use should be made of

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[1] Sékou Touré. *Action politique du P.D.G.* Conacry, Vol. 2, pp. 129-134.
[2] *The Charter.* Cairo, p. 11
[3] *Deuxième Séminaire de l'Union Soudanaise—R.D.A.* Bamako, 1962, p. 23.

the experience of each socialist country, taking into account the results of these methods in every one of these countries and studying the principles by which these countries were guided in tackling their problems. How to apply these methods in each individual case depends on an objective analysis of domestic conditions.[1] This method of combining the general and the specific is characteristic of many revolutionary democrats.

The anti-imperialist attitude is expressed more consistently in the view of national democrats than in any of the other trends of African social thought. Representatives of this trend believe that in order to solve Africa's vital problems, the socialist way of development should be preferred to the capitalist one. They make their choice in favour of socialism not for tactical considerations but because they are convinced that *socialism alone can ensure social progress and development.*

Revolutionary democrats explain their socialist orientation by many reasons. Seydou Badian speaks about the force of example of scientific socialism, noting that *socialism ensures political stability, overcomes class antagonisms and makes rapid economic development possible.* Like many other representatives of this trend, he believes that real economic integration in Africa can only be achieved on a socialist basis and that *only socialist co-operation can decide the destiny of the African peasantry.*[2]

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[1] Sékou Touré. *Guinean Revolution and Anti-Imperialist Struggle,* "World Marxist Review," 1967, No. 4, p. 60.
[2] Seydou Badian. *Les dirigeants Africains face á leurs peuples,* pp. 61, 142.

Many African authors motivate their choice in favour of socialism by the fact that this social order alone expresses the interests of all the people, not of privileged groups, and it is able to do away with the aftermath of the colonial rule and to ensure effective economic planning in the interests of all the people.

In their definition of socialism, national democrats, in contrast to the spokesmen of the national bourgeoisie, lay stress on social production relations and not on moral and ethical standards. They regard the sphere of production as basic, while petty-bourgeois theorists look for ways of applying the socialist principles mostly in the sphere of distribution and propagate the ideas of "equalisation."

The national democrats' attitude to foreign aid differs from that of bourgeois ideologists. While actively working for international co-operation they expose the neo-colonialist nature of imperialist "aid." Sékou Touré writes in this connection: "Foreign aid can be accepted only when it does not involve political commitments and does not affect the key positions in the economy." [1] Underlining the difference between co-operation and neo-colonialism, he rejects "aid" which "does not contribute to the development of our own forces, which saps our will to sovereignty, which gives rise to the class of an exploiting petty bourgeoisie and which encroaches on our dignity." [2]

The social thought of the national democrats is noted for principled criticism of the concept of African exclusiveness and the theories of "African socialism."

[1] Sékou Touré. *Action politique du P.D.G.* Vol. 13, p. 234.
[2] *Ibid.*

Sékou Touré sharply criticises the theories of "African socialism," especially the theory of "Negritude" which he calls "a myth in scientific clothing." [1] This theory is pernicious and dangerous politically, for in practical terms it amounts to "anti-racist racism" and preaches evolution rather than revolution. Obviously, it cannot serve the African people as a weapon in their fight for economic and political independence.

Seydou Badian remarks in his book that "the term 'socialism' is extencively used in Africa today. Some leaders who preach this doctrine actually practise bare-faced liberalism in their countries... What they are doing is a purely tactical move intended to take in the youth and the conscious activists... The words 'socialism,' 'national interest,' etc., are used as narcotics, and help these leaders to mask the real nature of their utterly anti-national policy." [2]

Polarisation of forces among the African ideologists and the struggle between different ideological trends must be a sign of the increasing political and ideological maturity of the group of theorists and politicians known as national democrats.

The development of contacts and relations between Marxists and revolutionary democrats is of paramount importance. After the theoretical colloquium (Cairo, October 1966) sponsored by the magazines *Al-Talia* and *World Marxist Review,* the Algerian magazine *Revolution Africaine* (organ of the Algerian National Liberation Front) noted the value of such exchanges of opinion.

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[1] Sékou Touré. *Action politique...*, Vol. 13, p. 234.
[2] Seydou Badian. *Les dirigeants Africains face...* p. 55.

"Africa," it wrote, "must rally its ranks by developing a common platform of thought and action." [1]

The Spread of the Ideas of Scientific Socialism in Africa

Only a quarter of a century ago, Marxism was just finding its way into most African countries. Today, it would be no exaggeration to say that even in the very heart of the continent Marxism has overstepped the boundaries of the working-class movement and is influencing the various mass non-proletarian democratic movements in many ways.

Prior to the October Revolution in 1917 in Russia, Africa knew practically nothing about Marxism. Colonial misrule in its cruellest forms, social and economic backwardness, the absence of a modern proletariat in almost all countries of the continent, extremely scarce information media, low cultural and general educational level of the population, and the domination of imperialist ideology—these were the factors which prevented the spread of Marxist ideas in African countries.

The October Revolution which ushered in an epoch of socialism gave a powerful impetus to the African national-liberation movement.

As a result of the deep changes that had taken place both in Africa and all over the world, in the late '60s conditions became favourable for the spread of Marxist ideas and their influence on the mass democratic movements in Africa.

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[1] *Revolution Africaine,* No. 196, November 1966, p. 23.

The extension and strengthening of political, economic and cultural ties between the world socialist system and the developing countries brought about a new situation.

Economic assistance from the socialist countries promoted major social and economic changes in many regions of the African continent.

Without interfering in their domestic affairs, the socialist countries are helping the formerly oppressed peoples to deal with the after-effects of the colonial rule, to ensure victory of the national-liberation movement and to achieve social progress.

In the ideological sphere, the abolition of the imperialist monopoly over education and training and in shaping social ideas was an important factor. With the aid of the world socialist system, favourable conditions were created for the resurgence and development of African social thought and for the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism.

As it spreads over Africa, however, Marxism runs up against certain difficulties. Although imperialism has forfeited its undivided ideological monopoly it is stepping up its ideological and political pressure in the African countries and changing its tactics and methods of influencing. Speaking at the Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, noted that "Imperialism cannot expect to succeed if it speaks of its true aims openly. It is compelled to create a system of ideological myths to disguise its true intentions and lull the vigilance of the people. For this purpose it has built up a

mammoth propaganda machine equipped with all modern means of ideological indoctrination." [1]

The main strategic task imperialism has set itself in relation to the national-liberation movement in Africa is the struggle against socialist-oriented countries, to preserve the African continent in the orbit of world capitalism. And this is one of the reasons why the ideological struggle has become more acute and complicated: the centre of gravity is shifting towards direct confrontation between Marxism and bourgeois ideology.

Imperialist methods of ideological influence have become more diversified and better equipped and at the same time more subtle and inconspicuous, which makes them ever more dangerous to the African peoples. Neo-colonialism is now backing the emergent African bourgeoisie and the "new elite"—bureaucratic officialdom, the reactionary section of officers, and young people educated in West European universities and American colleges who are traditionally bourgeois-oriented.

The mammoth imperialist propaganda machine uses the most diverse methods and techniques to strengthen its ideological influence on Africa, which is proved by the growing number of centres for training experts in propaganda and ideology, and by the presence of tens of thousands of West European and American specialists in Africa acting as advisers, consultants, teachers in the state machine and in the public

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[1] *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.* Moscow, 1969, p. 163.

education system, press and radio workers, etc.

Neo-colonialism is keeping firm foothold in the publishing business and the press. Most African countries get the bulk of their films and TV programmes from the imperialist countries.

These facts must not be ignored when discussing the spread of Marxism in African countries. And it thus becomes clear that one of the major factors which have recently appeared on the ideological scene of Africa is the rapid sharpening of the struggle between Marxism and imperialist ideology.

The development of the national-liberation revolution, a certain growth of national capitalism in some African countries, and industrial progress are appreciably influencing the shaping of African ideology. If earlier, capitalism was rejected because it was a system imported by the colonialists, today many African theorists and politicians repudiate it as a mode of production based on hired labour. They reject capitalism as a regime of class antagonisms which is unable to resolve the fundamental problems of socio-economic development.

The process of industrialisation which is getting under way in Africa involves the growth of wage labour, particularly the proletariat, the best social basis for the adoption of Marxism.

The heightening class differentiation in Africa, the emergence of two antagonistic classes, the local bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is accompanied by the sharpening of the class struggle. This has the effect on the ideology. This is a dialectical process, with the growing ideological and political pressure brought to bear on the progressive African forces on the one hand, and

the development of more favourable conditions for the spread of Marxist theory, now that the borderlines between the classes have become more distinct and the internal class struggle has sharpened.

The question concerning the development of the local intelligentsia merits special attention. In the early sixties, Africa already had a small section of intellectuals who mostly came from well-to-do families and had received their education in West European or American universities. Several universities which were already in existence worked under European curricula and most of the professors and lecturers were French, British or American.

There have been significant changes in recent years. New universities have sprung up and are becoming the centres for the dissemination of African social veiws. The students are demanding reforms in the higher education system and radical changes in university curricula. At several universities, for instance in Algeria, the Arab Republic of Egypt and the People's Republic of the Congo, students are given lectures on Marxism. The teaching staffs of the universities are replenished by African lecturers.

Certainly, the shaping of the African intelligentsia is a highly contradictory process. It is from among the intellectuals that sundry petty-bourgeois and even extremist tendencies spring up and it is from this medium that the national bourgeoisie recruit their apologists and fellow-travellers. But one cannot overlook the fact that towards the early seventies, a section of African students had become active proponents of the ideas of scientific socialism.

Objective reality faces different political forces with the necessity of turning to the theory and practice of scientific socialism for solutions to their social and economic problems. Only a few decades ago the African countries treated the question of transition to socialism mainly on a theoretical plane. Today, however, socialism is becoming a practical issue for some of them. This is why socialist ideas are developing still further in Africa no matter what bourgeois sociologists may prophesy. What is really significant is that these ideas do not simply get passed on; they acquire ever new aspect. Alongside the old political problems, emphasis is often laid on issues like nationalisations, industrialisation, the role of the state sector, co-operation in agriculture, correlations between the different sectors of the national economy, foreign trade monopoly, and the role of foreign aid.

In their desire to find solutions to these problems, many African theorists and practical workers are finding that they have to study the theory and practice of scientific socialism more thoroughly and consistently. The ideology of nationalism, which has done its work in the struggle for political independence, cannot answer the questions arising at the new stage of the national-liberation movement.

The really socialist prospects of Africa can be associated only with the application of Marxist-Leninist theory. The protest from the bourgeois ideologists that Marxism is unacceptable for Africa sounds less and less convincing.

To solve the problems of national development and social progress and to counter neo-colonialist schemes, it is necessary to mobilise broad

masses, to enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasantry, and unite the working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata, democratic army circles and all patriotic progressive forces. The Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' Parties work for such unity.

All peoples have legends of a society of plenty, happiness and freedom. When society was first divided into classes of exploiters and exploited, there appeared thinkers who bitterly criticised the regime of exploitation and oppression. They dreamed of a better life, of social justice. These thinkers invented fairy-tale islands lost in the ocean or faraway cities collectively governed by wise and just people.

In feudal times, the British writer and philosopher Thomas More described the happy life of the island of Utopia which is the Greek for "nowhere." The author of Utopia believed that equality and happiness were impossible as long as there was private ownership of the means of production and public wealth was appropriated by a handful of rich people and the majority of people lived in poverty. So on the island of Utopia, there was to be neither private property nor money and it was everyone's duty to work. The inhabitants of Utopia worked collectively, delivered their produce to public stores without remuneration and received all they needed free of charge.

Later, another ideally just society was described by the Italian author Tommaso Campanella in his book, *City of the Sun*.

The ideas of Thomas More, Campanella and their followers were called "utopian socialism," and the word "utopian" became a synonym of imaginary and unreal.

The utopian socialists brilliantly exposed the system of exploitation of man by man. They ardently advocated replacing capitalism with socialism. However, they failed to see the social force capable of building a new society. They intended to bring happiness to earth through legislation, declarations and peaceful preaching of socialist ideals.

They did not believe in the great transformating power of the working people, they were afraid of class struggle and limited themselves to urging the exploiters to lighten the lot of the exploited.

The utopian socialism of Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella and their followers, the Frenchmen Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier and the Englishman Robert Owen, played a positive historical role in that they helped to expose the social injustice of the exploiter society and to shape the concept of a socialist society.

Utopian socialism was followed in the mid-19th century by the scientific socialism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Marxist science, its philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism incorporated the best achievements of the human mind accumulated by the mid-19th century. Karl Marx highly valued the revolutionary aspects of the teachings of the German philosophers Hegel and Feuerbach, the British economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo and the great utopian socialists Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. Marx and Engels made extensive use of their ideas.

In contrast to utopian socialists, Marx and Engels established that sacialism is not a product

of the imagination of great thinkers but an inevitable and necessary sequence in the development of capitalist society. Socialism is the natural result of mankind's development. Mankind is moving towards socialism not because of the good wishes of its exponents but in keeping with objective laws of social development. *By proving this Marx and Engels turned socialism into a science.*

The founders of scientific socialism established that capitalism creates its own grave-digger, the proletariat—the social force, ignored by the utopian socialists, whose historic mission is to build socialism. Only the class struggle of the proletariat, the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie will save mankind from capitalism, the last society based on exploitation of man by man.

Lenin made a great contribution to Marxism. On the basis of Marx's teaching, Lenin created the theory of imperialism and elaborated the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the new historical situation.

Lenin was the leader of a party and a state whose people achieved the world's first socialist revolution. Under his guidance the people of Russia began the practical realisation of the Marxist theory of scientific socialism. Lenin drew up the plan for building socialism in the Soviet Union, which was successfully put into practice by the Soviet people.

For more than a hundred years the ideas of scientific socialism have been triumphantly spreading throughout our planet, winning over ever broader masses of working people. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine has captured the minds

of millions of working people, has become an effective weapon in their struggle for liberation from exploitation and in building a new society. The ideals of socialism have been realised in the great accomplishments of the Soviet people engaged in building a communist society. They are being put into practice in the socialist countries of Europe and Asia. They inspire people in all parts of the world who are fighting to overthrow the imperialist rule, to destroy the system of class exploitation and oppression. Marxist teaching is a reliable compass for orienting oneself in the maze of current developments.

Over one thousand million people have already shaken off the fetters of capitalism and are marching towards socialism and communism. Hundreds of millions of people have freed themselves from colonial bondage. The masses of whole continents, formerly doomed by colonialists to poverty and starvation, have taken the road of independent historical development.

Despite the variety and complexity of the developments in today's world, the basic content of our age is conveyed by these simple and clear words—the transition from capitalism to socialism. The greatness of Marxist teaching lies in the fact that it predicted this transition a hundred years ago, that it not only explains the past, but also illuminates the future, lighting up the way to the morrow of all mankind.

Ю. Попов
МАРКСИСТСКАЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ЭКОНОМИЯ
И АФРИКАНСКАЯ ДЕЙСТВИТЕЛЬНОСТЬ
на английском языке
Цена 42 коп.